CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 7, 1991 $2.25

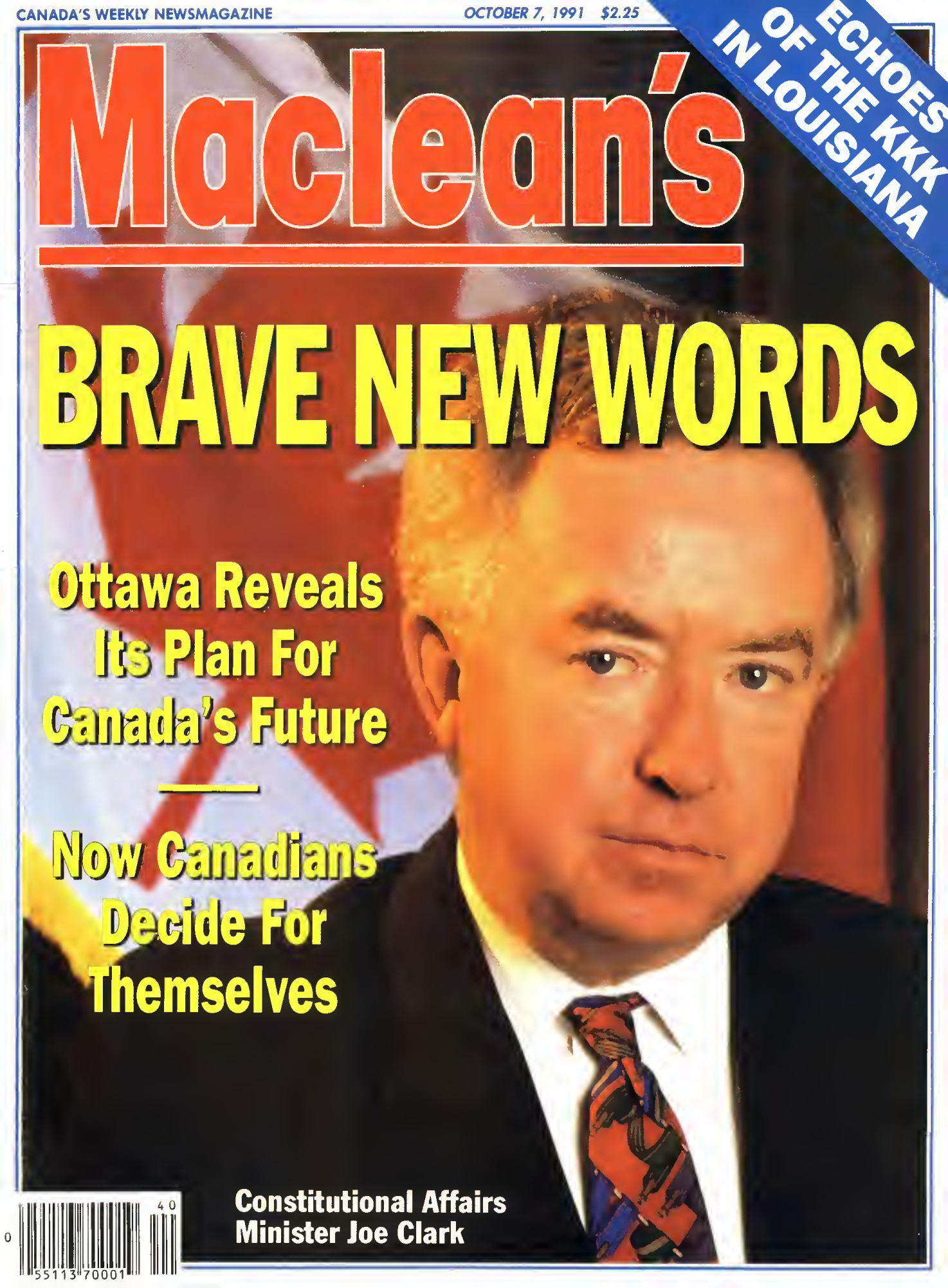
Maclean's

ECHOES OF THE KKK IN LOUISIANA

BRAVE NEW WORDS

Ottawa Reveals Its Plan For Canada's Future

Now Canadians Decide For Themselves



Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark

40
0 55113 70001



If it fits, wear it.

For your perusal, may we present The Volkswagen Collection, handsome ready-to-drive designs from Germany.

Available in a tempting variety of styles and sizes.

Like the Golf, top left, a dashing little number that complements any shape of road.

Or the Jetta displayed beneath it. Classic and affordable. It's a true German road sedan.

Or, if you long to slip into something more spacious consider the Passat, top right, Volkswagen's most elegant entry to date.

And finally may we introduce the latest and largest model in the Volkswagen line, the EuroVan, bottom right. EuroVan's generous interior can carry 7 adults comfortably, plus all the luggage 7 adults can carry.

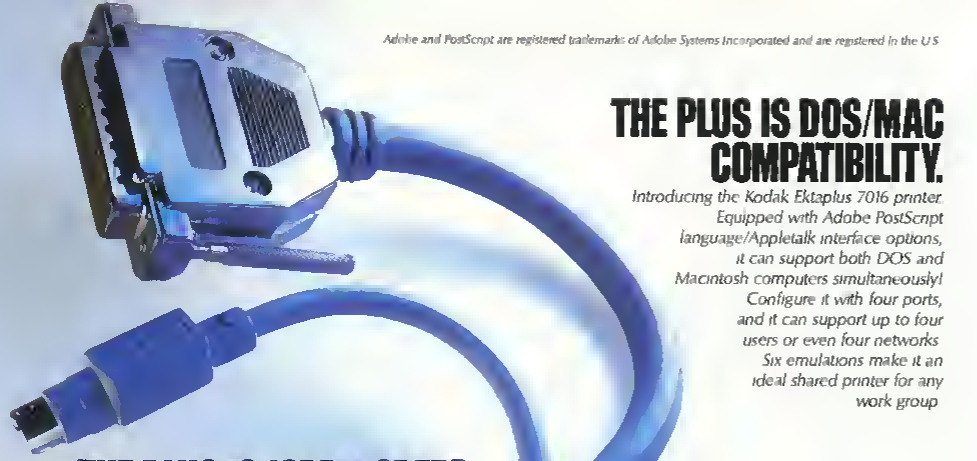
But size isn't quite everything. So you'll find our minivan as nimble and graceful to drive as a much smaller vehicle.

And like all Volkswagens its constructed with only the finest, sturdiest materials.

If you'd like to try any of these on, simply drop by your nearest showroom. We're sure you'll find one that fits.

Volkswagen EuroVan

Adobe and PostScript are registered trademarks of Adobe Systems Incorporated and are registered in the US



THE PLUS IS DOS/MAC COMPATIBILITY.

Introducing the Kodak Ektaplus 7016 printer. Equipped with Adobe PostScript language/Appletalk interface options, it can support both DOS and Macintosh computers simultaneously! Configure it with four ports, and it can support up to four users or even four networks. Six emulations make it an ideal shared printer for any work group.

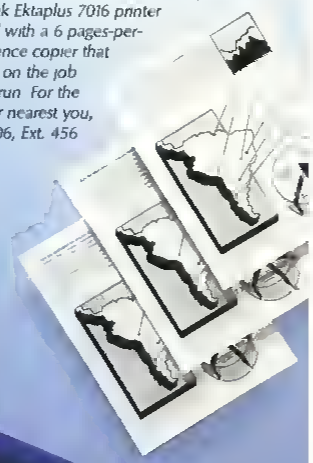
THE PLUS IS 16PPM SPEED.

Twice as fast as traditional printers, the Kodak Ektaplus 7016 printer can make you at least twice as productive. It maintains fast, high-quality throughput, even when printing Adobe PostScript language. It helps you get more done in a day.

THE PLUS IS A COPIER.

Imagine the convenience of having a built-in copier for those frequent one- or two-copy jobs! The Kodak Ektaplus 7016 printer comes standard with a 6 pages-per-minute convenience copier that keeps everybody on the job instead of on the run. For the name of the dealer nearest you, call 1-800 344-0006, Ext. 456.





THE PRINTER WITH A PLUS.

KODAK

Imaging by all means

1991

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 7, 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 40

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

12 OPENING NOTES
The PMO denies favoritism, Sean Connery blows his cover, Ontario's NDP gets out of step; dog bites dog at Southam Inc., ice-cream ads take a licking, Stanislaw Tyminski suffers a setback, Lady Beaverbrook cuts back; a Liberal stalwart joins the Reform party

15 COLUMN/FRED BRUNING

16 CANADA
Gains by the Confederation of Regions party overshadow a second massive Liberal victory in New Brunswick; an explosive new book examines Brian Mulroney's private life before he came to power.

22 COVER

36 WORLD
The threat of civil war looms over Soviet Georgia.

42 SPECIAL REPORT

52 BUSINESS
Frank Stronach is humbler but happier after turning around his debt-ridden auto-parts firm; Canada's troubled trust companies scramble to find new partners.

59 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

62 JUSTICE
Ottawa extradites accused mass-murderer Charles Ng to the United States.

64 SPORTS
Cito Gaston and the Blue Jays get some welcome relief.

66 PEOPLE

68 BOOKS
Two authors lay bare the greed and avarice of hockey owners.

71 FILMS
A People magazine dream-come-true; Graham Greene stars in a devastating parable about native rage.

74 MUSIC
The NAC Orchestra hopes that Trevor Pinnock will revive its fortunes

76 FOTHERINGHAM



COVER PHOTO BY JEAN MILLER/MACLEAN'S

COVER

BRAVE NEW WORDS

Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark's national unity plan won mixed reviews last week: cautious praise from several premiers, outright rejection from some native leaders and Quebec separatists. But Ottawa achieved its first objective: to keep the major participants talking. And Maclean's has learned that Ottawa is already working on a plan to transform its proposals into law. — 22

SPECIAL REPORT

GUNS OF AUTUMN

Among the warring families of Yugoslavia, old hatreds are pitting former neighbors against one another in deadly struggles over property, the lives of their relatives and their very future. Last week, Croats and Serbs, their ethnic divisions revived, were preparing for a long and bitter fight. — 42





WORLD

ECHOES OF THE KKK

Former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard David Duke, 41, has become the wild card in an all-party primary for governor of Louisiana. Duke has stirred powerful emotions with a pledge to "preserve the white race," and seems set to provide the strongest test of racial issues in U.S. politics this year. — 39

POSTMASTER: Undeliverable copies and change of address notices to: Maclean's, P.O. Box 1660, Postal Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 2B6. Canadian second-class mail registration number 1260



A Last Chance

It was a season that contained the seeds of a potential national disaster. Last week, after months of often abrasive public discussion, speculation and posturing, the federal government produced what may be the most crucial proposals for constitutional change since the nation's founding. Called *Shaping Canada's Future Together*, Ottawa's 59-page vision is a striking document, deftly mixing political compromise with idealism, honest self-criticism and the promise to right the wrongs of history. And it passed its first major test when most Canadians displayed the maturity and wisdom needed to rise above individual and group interests to give careful attention to the proposals.

There are still huge obstacles to overcome, from recognizing Quebec's distinctiveness to the division of powers, parliamentary reform and native rights. On the Quebec issue, Ottawa notes that past failures to reform the Constitution have left "many Quebecers feeling rejected by the rest of Canada." The new proposals also contain the recognition that the existing Constitution does not adequately recognize the special place of native people in Canadian society. And it guarantees them self-government in 10 years.

Quebec separatists and some native leaders have been among the first Canadians to sharply attack the document. But in general, there has been a remarkable, although characteristically muted, recognition of the generosity that informs most aspects of *Shaping Canada's Future*.

For the proposals to form the basis for a new understanding, those Canadians who live outside Quebec now have to be prepared to accept the province's basic and profound distinctiveness, recognized clearly as far back as the Quebec Act of 1774. And Quebecers have to realize that *all* parts of Canada must have a *real* sense of gain. If the majority of Canadians approach the proposals with the conviction that in some version they can be made to work, they will. If not, there will not likely be another chance to heal a fractured nation.



HANK GUNN

Ottawa staffers Bruce Wallace, Anthony Wilson-Smith (Bureau Chief), Nancy Wood and Glen Allen: crucial proposals

Maclean's
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Editor: Kevin Doyle

Managing Editor: Robert Lewis
Executive Editors: Carl Mollins, Alan Walker
Assistant Managing Editors: Michael Bennett, Robert Marshall
Art Director: Nick Burnett
Senior Contributing Editor: Peter C. Newman
Senior Editor: David North
Section Editors: Chris Wood *(Canada)*, Bob Lavin *(World)*, Ross Laver *(Business)*, Mark Nichols *(Departments)*, Patricia Hluchy *(Entertainment)*, Cecily Ross *(Opening Notes)*
Editorial Controller: Marianne Yoannou
Senior Writers: Patricia Chisholm, Rae Corelli, Tom Fennell, D'Arcy Jenish, Brian D. Johnson, Peeter Kopvillem, Deirdre McMurdy
Associate Editors: Brian Bergman, Andrew Bilski, John Daly, James Deacon, Victor Dwyer, Paul Kaihla, Mary Nemeth, Shaffin Shariff, Diane Turbide, Nora Underwood, Barbara Wickens, Pamela Young
Assistant Editors: Diane Brady, Anne Stacey
Chief of Production: Beverley Atherley

Bureaus: Ottawa: Anthony Wilson-Smith *(Chief)*, Glen Allen, E. Kaye Fulton, Bruce Wallace, Nancy Wood, Luke Fisher *(Editorial Assistant)*; Halifax: John DeMont; Montreal: Barry Came; Toronto: Brenda Dalgish *(National Business Correspondent)*; Calgary: John Howse; Vancouver: Hal Quinn; Washington: Mardi McDonald *(Chief)*, Hilary Mackenzie; Europe: Andrew Phillips *(London)*; Moscow: Malcolm Gray
Chief of Information Services: Linda Bailey
Chief of Information Services (Interim): Basil Guinane
Research: Brian Bethune, Sharon Doyle Driedger, Smitt Steele *(Deputy Chief Researchers)*, Stephen Brunton, April Bulmer, Julie Cazzin, Susan Ferguson, Ann MacGregor *(Researcher/Reporters)*
Library: Mary Jane Culhert, George Serhijczuk *(Library Technicians)*, Robin Seitz *(Library Clerk)*
Copy: Joe Chidley *(Chief Copy Editor)*, Sandra McGregor *(Associate Copy Editor)*, Leila William Turnbull *(Copy Editor)*
Photo Editor: Peter Bregg
Chief Staff Photographer: Brian Willer
Photo Department: Chris Schwarz *(Associate Editor/Photographer)*, Catherine McNeely *(Associate Photo Editor)*, Kristine Ryall *(Assistant Photo Editor)*
Art Department: Giselle Sabatini *(Associate Art Director)*, John Stacey *(Assistant Art Director)*, Tom Metz *(Design Co-ordinator)*, Elizabeth Greenshields *(Senior Designer)*, Eric Legge *(Designer)*
Production Superintendent: Barbara Wilson
Communications Co-ordinator: Sean McCluskey
Video Compositors: Buffy Barrett, Jerry Langton
Assistant to the Editor: Pat Brodie
Assistant to the Managing Editor: Chris Johnston
Assistant to the Controller: Lynn Beauregard
Editorial Assistants: Joanne Langford, Joe Power
Correspondents: *Charlottetown:* Barbara MacAndrew; *Moncton:* Susan Soucoup; *Regina:* Dale Eisler; *St. John's:* Russell Wangersky; *Whitehorse:* Jim Butler; *Amman:* Leila Deeb; *Bangkok:* Neil Kelly; *Belgrade:* Louise Branson; *Berlin:* John Holland; *Bonn:* Peggy Salz Trautman; *Brussels:* Peter Lewis; *Cape Town:* Chris Erasmus; *Dublin:* Michael Keane; *Jerusalem:* Eric Silver; *London:* Jeremy Hart, Ian Mather; *Los Angeles:* Anne Gregor; *New Delhi:* Ajoy Bose; *New York:* Larry Black; *Nicosia:* Chris Drake; *Paris:* Dianna Gerkies; *Rome:* Sari Gilbert; *Seoul:* John Gittelsohn; *Tokyo:* Tom Koppel; *Vienna:* Sue Masterman; *Warsaw:* Bogdan Turek
Contributing Editors: Barbara Amiel, John Bemrose, Dan Burke, Mary Janigan, Nicholas Jennings, William Lowther, Michael Rose, Ann Walmsley

Publisher: James K. Warrilow

INTRODUCING THE SHORTEST DISTANCE TO FREE AIR TRAVEL.

←3½"→





CIBC Aerogold™ VISA*

Every single purchase earns you free Air Canada travel miles.

Never has a gold credit card given you more reasons to apply now. New CIBC Aerogold VISA comes with automatic membership in Aeroplan®, Air Canada's frequent flyer program. Every dollar you spend using the card earns you one free Aeroplan mile. In no time those miles add up to free travel anywhere Air Canada flies. And CIBC Aerogold VISA also entitles you to the special privileges of a gold credit card. Get the full details at any CIBC branch, Air Canada counter or your Travel Agent. Call now and enjoy a special enrollment bonus.

1-800-465-CIBC
IN TORONTO 980-CIBC

CIBC Aerogold VISA. Miles better.

*AEROGOLD IS A MARK OF AIR CANADA. CIBC IS A REGISTERED USER OF THE MARK. ™CIBC, AIR CANADA REGISTERED USERS OF THE MARKS. ®MARK OF AIR CANADA. CIBC IS A REGISTERED USER OF THE MARK.



LETTERS

LIMITED LUXURY

You state in "Saying 'no' to a zero" that "Public Service of Alliance Canada members enjoy inflation-proof pensions that rise automatically with the consumer price index—a luxury that only a few of the most powerful private-sector unions have won for their members" (Cover, Sept. 23). This is misleading. PSAC members pay 7.5 per cent of their salary in pension contributions. One per cent of this is earmarked for the cost of indexation. Furthermore, indexed pensions are not a luxury. In fact, they are deferred wages. As larger and larger numbers of Canadians are growing closer to retirement, more attention is being focused on the need to provide those of pension age with a decent standard of living.

Daryl T. Bean,
National president, PSAC,
Ottawa

MISGUIDED HELP

Your Special Report on Lawrencia (Bambi) Bembenek attempts to portray the convicted murderer and fugitive as an innocent victim who deserves our sympathy ("Bambi's story," Sept. 23). In my opinion, this killer should have been returned to the United States immediately. She was tried and convicted by an American court, and our immigration department should stop wasting time and taxpayers' money. Canada is becoming a safe haven for American murderers, international terrorists and other fugitives, and this abuse of our refugee and immigration laws must stop.

F. R. Denneck,
Winnipeg

You were misguided to allot seven pages to Lawrencia Bembenek. If, as seems possible, there was a miscarriage of justice, there are organizations in the United States, such as the Centurion Ministries, to which she can turn for help. It is not our prerogative to decide whether she was fairly tried or not, nor is it in our best interests.

Greta Morgan,
Victoria

'A NATIONAL EMBARRASSMENT'

Canada, perceived as one of the world's just nations, has treated inmate David Milgaard abominably ("A prisoner's new hope," Justice, Sept. 23). The mounting evidence that supports his claim of innocence is overwhelming. His continued incarceration is a national embarrassment and must end—with freedom and a new trial. To err may indeed be human. But to be truly just is humane.

Brian J. Curtis,
Neepawa, Man.



WAYNE STANLEY

Striking PSAC member 'misleading'

GARMENT WARS

Your article "Riches to rags" accurately depicts the devastating impact of the recession on Canada's apparel manufacturers (Business, Sept. 23). However, one statement requires correction. You claim that "Canada's duties are twice as high as U.S. levies." A February, 1990, report by the Canadian International Trade Tribunal shows that the average most-favored-nation tariffs in 1988 for imports of textiles into Canada and the United States were 16.6 per cent and 11.1 per cent, respectively. And for some fabric types, Canadian duties are much lower. This is a long way from being double. Further, over half of our textile imports come from the United States, and as of Jan. 1, 1992, tariffs on these goods will have reduced by 40 per cent—and are on their way to zero.

Eric Barry,
President, Canadian Textiles Institute,
Ottawa

Ladies and gentlemen of the garment world, you are crying the blues because no one is buying your product. But as a senior, I cry because your clothes are so unbecoming and so uncomfortable that I cannot find anything on the racks that is even close to being adequate in style, fabric or color. Wake up. There are a lot of us out here.

Mary Welch,
Roland, N.B.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Or fax: (416) 596-7730.

PASSAGES



COURTESY CANAPRESS

DIED: Reform party Senator **Stanley Waters, 71,** after a three-month battle with brain cancer; at Foothills Hospital in Calgary. In a special procedure arranged by the provincial government, he won a province-wide vote in Alberta and automatically became Premier **Donald Getty**'s nominee for a vacant Senate post in Ottawa. The day after his easy win in that election, the tough-talking former military officer travelled to Ottawa to take his place in the upper house, but it took Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney** nine months after the election to finally appoint him. A die-hard Conservative at one time, Waters was one of the original founders of the Reform party, and a vocal critic of many federal government policies.

DIED: Writer **Theodor Geisel, 87,** who, under the pen name Dr. Seuss, wrote 48 children's books that were translated into 20 languages, at his home in La Jolla, Calif. Seuss sold more than 200 million copies of his books around the world. They included such hits as *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* and *The Cat in the Hat*. Seuss, who also illustrated his books, once said that his characters were odd-looking because he could not draw properly.

DIED: Klaus Barbie, 77, the so-called Butcher of Lyon, of multiple cancer ailments, in a Lyon hospital. During the Nazi occupation of France in the Second World War, Barbie, who was the Gestapo secret-police chief in Lyon, was responsible for the deaths of at least 11,000 people, most of them Jews.

DIED: Lina Quilico, 66, the gifted Canadian concert pianist who devoted much of her life to furthering the careers of her husband and son, two of the opera world's greatest baritones; of cancer, in Toronto. Her husband **Louis Quilico,** launched his long career at New York City's Metropolitan Opera Company while her son, **Gino,** served as principal member with the Paris Opera.

DIED: Miles Davis, 65, the influential trumpeter who revolutionized jazz during a 40-year career, of pneumonia, respiratory failure and a stroke, in Santa Monica, Calif. Davis, who experimented with many styles but was best known for his muted and soulful playing, won a Grammy in 1986 for his album *Tutu*. Many of his other records, including *Sketches of Spain* and *Kind of Blue*, are considered classics.

In 1859 one man left Canada without a safety net. Now, thousands of Ontarians are going to try the same stunt.

OHIP CHANGES AFFECT TRAVELLERS.



In 1859, Charles Blondin crossed Niagara Falls on a tightrope.

Ontario travellers have always enjoyed the protection of a safety net. OHIP has paid the majority of your emergency medical costs outside of Canada.

As of October 1st, however, OHIP will only pay foreign hospitals and doctors the same rate as it pays in Ontario. A nine day stay in a U.S. hospital for multiple fractures could cost $38,000. OHIP will pay about $4,800. And that means you could be left with a bill of over $33,000.

Which is why you need Blue Cross travel coverage.

Since 1976 we have been the most trusted name in travel health insurance. We don't have hidden age restrictions. We don't exclude most pre-existing conditions.

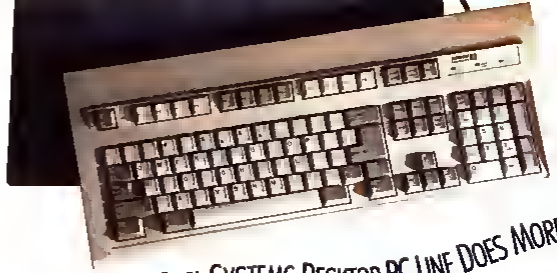
Where possible, we guarantee payment of your emergency medical costs directly to hospitals and doctors. We collect from OHIP. We even provide a worldwide toll-free emergency hotline.

For more facts call Blue Cross at 1-800-668-6262. In Toronto, call 429-2868.

ONTARIO BLUE CROSS
The peace of mind people.



MORE POWER TO YOU WITH OUR NEW PC LAN SYSTEM.



NOW THE ZENITH DATA SYSTEMS DESKTOP PC LINE DOES MORE THAN EVER.

On any desk, PC power tends to follow a predictable path. Upwards. That's why maximum expandability is the idea behind the Zenith Data Systems desktop PC line.

And our versatile new PC LAN products are choice examples. The Z-486/33ET LAN Server offers you a wide range of expansion options and comes ready to support all leading networking standards.* Pair it with our Z-LS Diskless LAN Station for superior performance.

Or for expandability and advanced graphical computing right out of the box, choose our new Z-486SX/20E or Z-486/33E personal workstations with *The Seamless Solution*—pre-installed with Microsoft® *Windows*™ v 3.0 plus a Microsoft mouse.

So connect with Zenith Data Systems. For more information and the name of your nearest Zenith Data Systems Reseller, call **1-800-523-9393** in North America.

Z-386SX/20



Z-486SX/20E



Z-486/33E



Z-486/33ET and Z-LS



	Z-386SX/20	Z-486SX/20E	Z-486/33E	Z-486/33ET	Z-LS
Microprocessor	i386™SX – 20 MHz	i486™SX – 20 MHz	i486DX – 33 MHz	i486DX – 33 MHz	i486SX – 16 MHz
Co-Processor	Optional 80387SX	Weitek 4167 socket i486DX upgrade	Weitek 4167 socket	Weitek 4167 socket	Optional 80387SX
Memory (Std./Board Max.)	2MB/16MB	4MB/32MB	4MB/64MB	8MB/64MB	1MB/8MB
Expansion Slots	4 open 16-bit ISA	3 open 32-bit EISA	3 open 32-bit EISA	8 open 32-bit EISA	2 open 16-bit ISA
Hard Disk Drive	40MB or 80MB IDE	80MB or 200MB IDE	200MB or 400MB IDE	340MB half height SCSI (6 open half height bays	Diskless, 40MB IDE optional
Ports	2 serial, 1 parallel	2 serial, 1 parallel	2 serial, 1 parallel	2 serial, 2 parallel, 1 mouse	2 serial, 1 parallel
Disk Drive Controller	Combined IDE connector/ floppy controller	Combined IDE connector/ floppy controller	Combined IDE connector SCSI/ floppy controller	EISA bus master SCSI mass host adapter	IDE connector/ floppy controller
Video	16-bit VGA card	16-bit VGA card	TIGA/VGA	16-bit VGA card	16-bit VGA on board
LAN Features				Optional RAID 5 disk array software	Dual level ROM based password protection

Novell Labs Tested & Approved

*The Z-486/33ET has been tested for compatibility with Novell NetWare® and Microsoft LAN Manager™
The Z-486/33ET has been submitted for testing and compatibility with Banyan® VINES™ and SCO™ and ISC™ UNIX®



ZENITH data systems
Groupe Bull

i386 and i486 are trademarks of Intel Corporation. Macintosh® Windows, and LAN Manager are trademarks of Microsoft Corporation. NetWare is a registered trademark of Novell, Inc. Banyan and VINES are trademarks of Banyan Systems, Inc. SCO is a trademark of Santa Cruz Operations. ISC is a trademark of International Systems Corporation. UNIX is a registered trademark of American Telephone & Telegraph Company.

Copyright © 1991 Zenith Data Systems Corporation.

POWER FROM A NEW PERSPECTIVE. YOURS.



Bell offers a variety of smart and easy ways to meet in the '90s

TELEFORUM" An effective and easy to use audio conference service

VIDEOFORUM' A video conference service that gives you all the advantages of a regular face-to-face meeting without being person-to-person

DIAL-UP VIDEO Video conference on a dial-up basis, offering even greater flexibility and convenience

Your Bell Canada representative can discuss which of our audio or video teleconference services is right for you

Find out how teleconferencing can help your business Call us

1-800-565-5100

Long Distance Business Sense

Bell

Answering your call

Nationwide Communications through Telecom Canada

LETTERS

THE HIGH PRICE OF BEAUTY

Your story on mail-order shopping through U S catalogues misses an important point ("Ordering over the border," Business, Sept 16) Retailers for Canada's mass market have gambled on quirky and trendy clothing styles in the hope that people would tire of what they bought, and then buy more They tired all right, but with the recession, many consumers stopped buying more and instead looked for classical designs These are not available at prices that most people can afford The result Canadians shop at U S outlets that satisfy sensible needs

Randal Martin,
Ottawa

I am certain that those Canadians who shop south of the border, when retired, will collect Canadian pensions When their children become ill, they most certainly visit Canadian doctors in Canadian hospitals supported by Canadian medicare I am certain that they enjoy living in what are probably the cleanest, safest and most community-minded cities in the world I am also certain that when the companies they work for in Canada lay them off because of poor sales, they will weep and probably collect Canadian unemployment insurance funds, or maybe even welfare These border-hopping, shopping Canadians are unequivocally two-faced traitors

Ron Klok
Grand Rapids, Mich.

A FAULTY EQUATION

Peter C. Newman, in his Sept. 9 Business Watch column, "Bourassa is just as distinct as Mercredi," makes the important point that Quebec has a very valid case for its claim as a distinct society within Canada. Unfortunately, he makes a glib equation of Quebec s claim with that of the First Nations. The Québécois, like the other dominant groups in Canada, share a common racial background and have a heritage that is European—without the 300 years of colonialism suffered by natives. To equate the two is at best politically naïve and at worst insensitive.

Bill Lee,
Associate professor, School of Social Work,
McMaster University,
Hamilton

In "A week that shook the Communist world" (Business Watch, Sept 2), Peter Newman writes that "It was out of the fear of being invaded or encircled again that the Soviets began to wage the Cold War . . . to build up ideological and military moats around Mother Russia.' It appears that Newman conveniently forgot that beginning in the late 1930s, the

WHO'S MINDING THE STORE?



While you're busy with things like your career, your family and enjoying some leisure time, who's taking care of your financial assets? The fact is most investors simply cannot devote the necessary time to managing their own investments. But Connor, Clark can. Because managing private investment portfolios is all we do

Connor, Clark is a discretionary investment manager working exclusively for affluent individuals who have entrusted us with portfolios totalling approximately $600 million.

If you're busy living your life and would rather have somebody else minding the store, consider Connor, Clark. We take our responsibilities very seriously indeed

Connor, Clark

Discretionary Investment Management

Scotia Plaza,
40 King Street West, Box 125, Suite 5110,
Toronto, Ontario M5H 3Y2
(416) 360-0006 Fax (416) 360-8380

1040 West Georgia Street, Suite 630,
Vancouver, B.C. V6E 4H1 (604) 689-0006
117 Murray Street Suite 202,
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5M5 (613) 235-4511

LETTERS

bloody handed Kremlin dictators made significant conquests and time after time declared that their ultimate aim was world domination. Therefore their activities cannot be viewed as defensive actions.

Fred L. Jaycaay,
Edmonton

THE WRITE HAND

Regarding the illustration of President George Bush in Allan Fotheringham's Aug. 26 column, "For Americans, it's Sex 10, Quebec 0," I do not think the President would feel comfortable with a pen in his right hand, being left-handed.

Isabelle Seal,
Victoria

CURING THE INCURABLES

Maybe Allan Fotheringham himself needs to come down with a case of the "Canadian Disease" ("The vicious cycle of Canadian meanness," Sept. 16). If Fotheringham thinks that having four staff florists and four staff calligraphers at the White House is fine, then he surely must approve of Star Wars—after all, lavish spending need not be sane spending.



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at 24 Sussex Drive: 'a mere trifle, we all say'

So what if Mila Mulroney spent $1.2 million redecorating the Prime Minister's official residence?—a mere trifle, we all say. If criticizing government spending that has little or no value for its citizens is a disease, then so be it. Let us all stay sick until governments get well—then a cure will be on the horizon.

Mary-Ann Michalak,
Montreal

Allan Fotheringham hit the nail on the head with "The vicious cycle of Canadian meanness." At the risk of succumbing to the Disease myself, I agree that we really are a nation of whiners. If the post office is not on strike, taxes are too high, or the Americans have stuck it to us again. And any problem is the government's fault—but no one will admit to voting them in. We should be proud of who we are: a rich, prosperous nation with a standard of living and legacy of peacekeeping and humanitarianism that is envied the world over.

Steve Dodge,
Ottawa

In diagnosing and illustrating the Canadian Disease, can one hope that Allan Fotheringham has purged and cured himself of the same disease?

George Cross,
Waterloo, Ont.

THE FORGETTABLE TRUTH

What was newsworthy, interesting or humorous about "A forgettable night on the town" (Opening Notes, Sept. 2)? So what if NDP MPP Peter Kormos met in a bar with Montreal columnist and municipal politician Nick Auf der Maur? You must indeed be scraping the bottom of your light-news barrel.

Marion Haffner,
Winnipeg

THE MISSING LINK

On reading your Sept. 2 issue, I was struck by an omission in the review of Jim Menzel's latest film, *The Beggar's Opera* ("The common touch," Films). Václav Havel, who wrote the play that the movie is based on, may indeed have based *his* work on Bertolt Brecht's *The Three-Penny Opera* but surely you should have noted that Brecht himself based the piece on an earlier work produced in 1728 by John Gay. It too was entitled *The Beggar's Opera.*

M. J. Poulter,
High Prairie, Alta.

A CO-OPERATIVE SOLUTION

Your article "Trouble in the mail" details many of the problems that have made confrontation at Canada Post a routine matter, but it offered no solutions (Canada, Sept. 2). May I suggest one: complete Canada Post's privatization by selling the company to its unionized employees, with the resulting organization to be managed as a producers' co-operative.

Patrick Murtagh,
Winnipeg

QUESTIONS OF LANGUAGE

In your Sept. 9 editorial, "The politics of the game," you state the often-muted belief in English-speaking Canada that Quebec is "inhospitable and intolerant towards non-francophones" (From the Editor's Desk). Could it be because anglophones expect to be served in English in Quebec? We do not expect to be served in French at a gas station in Edmonton or in a grocery store in Halifax. Might that make English Canada inhospitable to us? Let us face the facts: Quebec is as French as the rest of Canada is English.

Nicole and Pierre Lavigne,
Willowdale, Ont.

A REAL DOG

Your magazine has sunk to a new low by describing the effect that the voice of CBC news anchor Peter Mansbridge has on the sexual activity of two golden retriever sires ("A newshound's delight," Opening Notes, Sept. 2). Copulating dogs are hardly newsworthy, no matter where they are. I am disgusted that you would print such a stupid piece, and feel that it has insulted many readers, as well as Mansbridge. Bathroom humor never did make it in my book.

Beatrice Berry,
Minden, Ont.

Recently, we have noticed that the quality of the content in your articles has deteriorated. A case in point is "A newshound's delight." It was particularly offensive. If we wanted to read such trash, we would subscribe to the *National Enquirer.* Such an article does not even qualify as a human-interest story. Surely your reporters can find something more interesting to write about.

Beth and Patrick Chevalier,
Ottawa



NETWORKING • SOFTWARE APPLICATIONS • BUSINESS SYSTEMS



YOU SIMPLY CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THIS YEAR'S CANADIAN COMPUTER SHOW & CONFERENCE

> **SEE** how the latest computer systems can increase your company's productivity in today's competitive environment. Your competitors will be sure to be here!

> **LEARN** from top North American experts how you can better use today's computer technology to give your company the **competitive edge**. Workshops, demonstrations, seminars – it's all here!

> **DISCUSS** solutions with over 400 major exhibitors displaying thousands of the most recent products and services. See many **productivity-boosting innovations** that are introduced here first!

> **DISCOVER** why more resellers attend this event than any other computer show in Canada!

> **ATTEND** the 22nd Canadian Computer Show and Conference – **Canada's largest, and North America's oldest, computer show.** Join over 30,000 key decision-makers nationwide from business, industry and government who will be here to learn **how innovative computer technology can help them get ahead.**

> **CIRCLE** these dates on your calendar now! October 21 to 24, 1991, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., Toronto International Centre.

CANADIAN COMPUTER SHOW & CONFERENCE
The Next Generation

For exhibitor information, call Bob Poldon or Darryl Bond at (416) 252-7791

its Managed and Produced by INDUSTRIAL TRADE & CONSUMER SHOWS INC.

TORONTO INTERNATIONAL CENTRE – OCTOBER 21 TO 24, 1991

Maclean's
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Publisher JAMES K. WARRILLOW

Director of Advertising Sales Donald A. Ladkin
National Sales Manager Charles A. Hodgkinson
Business Development Manager R. Paul Parkland
Regional Sales Managers Dick Donohue *(Eastern)*
William R. More *(Western)* Jack S. Fertile

Business Manager Immee Chee Wah
Director of Research Sharon A. Murray
Director of Marketing Communications Peter G. Wilson
Promotion Art Director Paul H. Jarsky
Group Circulation Director Tracey McKinley
Advertising Production Manager James Moran
Assistant Production Manager Sue Oroville
Production Co-ordinators Irene Shaw, Lesly Corbett
Customer Service Supervisor Mavis Julius

Maclean's is published weekly by
Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing
President
James K. Warrilow
Executive Vice-President
Terry L. Malden
Vice-President, Circulation
Howard J. Adams

Maclean Hunter Limited
Chairman
Donald G. Campbell
President and Chief Executive Officer
Ronald W. Osborne
President, Canadian Printing
Matthew B. Fyfe

MACLEAN'S established 1905, is published and printed weekly by Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing, Maclean Hunter Building, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Montreal office: 1001 de Maisonneuve ouest, Montreal, Que. H3A 3E1. Vancouver office: Ste. 700, 1111 Melville St., Vancouver, B.C. V6E 3V6. Contents Copyright® 1991 by Maclean Hunter; may not be reprinted without permission. Printed in Canada. Canadian second-class mail registration number 1260. Second-class postage paid at Buffalo, N.Y. for U.S. subscribers. U.S. Postmasters: send form 3579 to Maclean's, P.O. Box 4541, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240. *Maclean's* ISSN 0024-9262. Full subscription prices: Canada: 1 year $52.00 (plus GST); U.S.A.: 1 year $67.00 surface or $153.00 first class, all other countries: 1 year $112.00 surface or $260.00 airmail. Microfiche and 35 mm microfilm: Micromedia, 158 Pearl St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1L3. Indexed in Canadian Periodical Index, Canadian Business Periodicals Index, the Magazine Index, the Canadian Magazine Index and indexed on line in the Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database. Full text reference on-line on Info Globe, Informart Online and NEXIS. CMR, The Audit Bureau.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

☐ **NEW SUBSCRIPTION** ☐ **RENEWAL** Fill in your name and address below, and enclose your cheque for 52 issues—1 year—for $55.64 (GST inc.)

☐ **CHANGE OF ADDRESS** Please allow 8 weeks. Fill in your new address below, and provide old address (or enclose old label) for subscription identification, or call our toll-free number.

☐ **MAIL PREFERENCE** We make our subscription list available to reputable companies and organizations whose products and/or services may be of interest to you. If you do not want your name to be made available, please enclose your mailing label and initial here.

Name_____

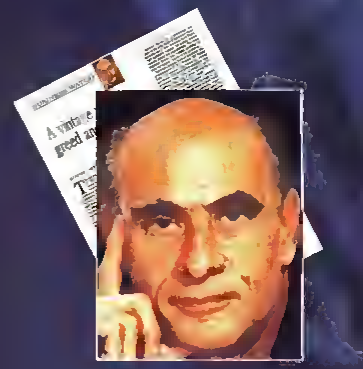
Address_____

City_____

Province_____ Postal Code_____

Call toll free: Toronto 596-5523
Ontario 1-800-668-8509, elsewhere in Canada 1-800-268-9057 (9 a.m.-5 p.m. EST)
or mail to *Maclean's* Circulation, Box 4003, Stn. A, Toronto, Canada M5W 2B8

Who's who, what's what and why.



It's no accident that you find Peter C. Newman's Business Watch column in the heart of Maclean's. Newman's access to the influential gets you closer to the real story, exclusively in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

Maclean's
THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

OPENING NOTES

Sean Connery calls for independence, the Prime Minister cancels dinner, and William Lee abandons the Liberals

STIRRING UP A HORNET'S NEST

In the aftermath of last year's Meech Lake accord, the complaint seemed all too familiar. Last week, many members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery were again accusing the Prime Minister's Office of playing favorites with certain reporters. The charges arose after senior broadcast journalists, including CBC TV's Peter Mansbridge and Global TV's Doug Small, were invited to a dinner briefing with PMO brass that included Chief of Staff Norman Spector and Clark of the Privy Council Paul Tellier the evening before Prime Minister Brian Mulroney unveiled his latest constitutional proposals. But the dinner was cancelled after some print journalists complained to the PMO. Several, including reporter Michel Vastel of Quebec City's *La Soleil*, even confronted Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark about the issue. Vastel, who reminded Clark of allegations that the federal government had tried to manipulate media coverage of the Meech Lake debate, told *Maclean's*: "This sort of briefing is Spector's trademark. We have no doubt what they were up to." Added Joan Bryden, a reporter with Southam News Service: "Some people are already saying, 'Here we go again, the Tories are up to their media manipulation tricks.' " Gilbert Lavoie, press secretary for the Prime Minister, rejected comparisons with Meech Lake. Said Lavoie: "All we were trying to do was help people who had to go live as soon as the documents were out."



PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

Spector: Meech Lake revisited?

Out of Her Majesty's service

Celebrated actor Sean Connery made his celluloid reputation battling evil and bedding beautiful women as James Bond, the Queen's gallant licenced-to-kill spy. But recently, the real-life Connery blew his cover as a mole of sorts when he urged his fellow Scots to rebel against the Crown. The 61-year-old actor helped write, and provided the voice-over for, a television commercial for the Scottish National Party, which advocates separation from England. In it, Connery compares Scotland to the recently freed Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. According to Connery, Scottish control of offshore oil resources would leave the tiny area of 5.1 million people far better off economically. "With this money we would make sure everyone in Scotland has a job." In response, some British commentators have pointedly noted that despite his strong nationalism, Connery has lived in Marbella, a small town in the sunny—and low-tax—Spanish province of Malaga, for the past 20 years. Still, Scottish separatists have been toasting his vocal support for their cause. From Scotland, with love.



© THE LIST SIGMA PUBLIMPHOTO

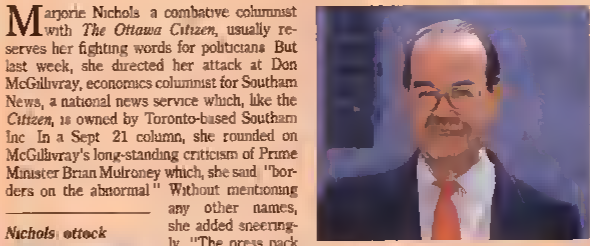
Connery: rebelling against the British Crown

BACK TO THE PARTY BASICS

Since assuming power last year, Ontario's NDP Premier Bob Rae has adopted a decidedly conciliatory tone with the province's business leaders. But his party appears to be marching to the beat of a different drummer. The latest direct-mail appeal from the Ontario NDP's fund raisers takes a fervently anti-business stance and claims that "big business is trying its best to stop us from doing the job we were elected to do." Said Jill Marzetti, the party's provincial secretary: "The government has its agenda, we have ours." So much for accommodation.

WARRING COLUMNISTS

Marjorie Nichols, a combative columnist with *The Ottawa Citizen*, usually reserves her fighting words for politicians. But last week, she directed her attack at Don McGillivray, economics columnist for Southam News, a national news service which, like the *Citizen*, is owned by Toronto-based Southam Inc. In a Sept. 21 column, she rounded on McGillivray's long-standing criticism of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney which, she said, "borders on the abnormal." Without mentioning any other names, she added sneeringly: "The press pack that runs with McGillivray pursues only the negative and the destructive." But three days later, Nichols apologized in print and agreed that her remarks had been "intemperate and disproportionate." And she told *Maclean's* that she took on McGillivray only because he recently poked fun at her support for the Meech Lake accord. For his part, McGillivray said that he welcomed the apology, but added that he was not offended by Nichols's original column. "I wasn't surprised by the attack," he said. "Similar things have been said about me before."



MIKE PRIDER

McGillivray: 'on the abnormal'



Nichols' attack

Steaming up the airwaves

British TV advertisers promoting ice cream are graphically linking the product to sexual foreplay. In one ad, an almost-naked couple eats ice cream while falling into a steamy embrace. But three other salacious spots, including one in which a beautiful woman bounces into ecstasy on a couch, took a licking recently after the Independent Television Commission banned them from the airwaves. Still, advertising industry executives have defended the ads, saying that their research shows that people often use the word "orgasm" to describe their feelings about ice cream.

Cutting back

The New Brunswick seaside resort town of St. Andrews is the summer home of several influential people, including multimillionaire industrialist Harrison McCain and Lady Christofor Beaverbrook, the widow of both Canadian-born newspaper baron Lord (Maxwell) Beaverbrook and Sir James Dunn, a New Brunswick financier. When in St. Andrews, the 81-year-old baroness stays at Dayspring, her vast walled estate. But the New Brunswick government, which owns the nearby Algonquin Hotel, may have angered Beaverbrook with its proposal to expand the famous building. Indeed, some residents of the town are speculating that it is for that reason that she decided to cancel the Sir James Dunn Foundation's hefty annual contribution to offset the deficit run by the town's recreation centre, which includes an arena and a bowling alley. Town officials say that this year, the deficit is expected to hit $200,000. Beaverbrook oversees the Dunn foundation, which also contributes to other activities in the town and awards scholarships to local students. Officials at the foundation say that they plan to continue such funding. Meanwhile, St. Andrews Mayor David Bartlett said that he accepts Beaverbrook's decision. He freely acknowledged: "She has been a great benefactor to this town."



DAVID CIERSON

The Algonquin: expansion

VOTING IN THE GRAVEYARD

Stanislaw Tyminski, the Toronto millionaire who placed second to Lech Walesa in Poland's presidential elections last year, has suffered a major setback in the upcoming elections to the Polish parliament. To field candidates nationally, political parties have to produce several lists with the signatures of at least 5,000 supporters. But a recent review by the Warsaw Electoral Commission and the Warsaw District Court found that some of the people on Tyminski's Party X lists were fictitious—or dead. As a result, the party will be able to field only 44 candidates, instead of 360. Tyminski said that he has appealed directly to Walesa to take a look at the matter. Declared Tyminski: "I want to make sure we get a fair hearing."

A CHANGE OF STRIPES

Last year, former Liberal party stalwart William Lee quietly joined the Reform Party of Canada. But he denies that he will be joining Reform in an official capacity. Said Lee, 67: "I just think they need younger people." In 1968, Lee was tour manager for Pierre Trudeau's so-called Trudeaumania election campaign. He was an aide to Defence Minister Paul Hellyer during the Liberal battle to unify the armed forces. In 1984, he was Liberal Leader John Turner's campaign director—until Turner replaced him. Just last month, Richard Anderson, general manager for Hill and Knowlton Canada, an Ottawa-based consulting firm, who ran Donald Johnston's unsuccessful Liberal leadership bid in 1984, also joined the Reform ranks. Said Lee: "I like Jean Chrétien very much personally, but I just don't know what the Liberal party stands for."



JOHN MAJOR

Lee: in the Reform ranks



It takes just 5 minutes to be nice to your niece in Nanaimo...

Here's your chance to do your Christmas shopping right now - in the comfort of your own home - and send a gift of Maclean's anywhere in Canada for as little as $29.95!

Listen, we know how busy you are. So this year, forget about crowded stores, wrapping presents, guessing sizes and last-minute shopping. Just treat your friends to Maclean's!

A GREAT GIFT FOR THEM

Wherever they live, from Victoria to St. John's or your own hometown, your friends and relatives will look forward to 52 issues of news, color, humor, insight, entertainment and opinion. What a great way to deliver your best wishes all year long.

And what a great value! Your first gift or your own subscription is just $55.64 (GST included). Extra gifts are only $29.95 (we'll pay the GST) - that's $22 off the full subscription price and $87 off the annual cover price.



A FREE GIFT FOR YOU

As a reward for getting your Christmas shopping done early, we'll give you this attractive quartz alarm clock as your gift. With its gold-toned face embedded in clear lucite, it lends timeless elegance to your desk, mantel or bedside table.

So if you want to please your friends and still have time to enjoy the holidays, you should be filling in the attached reply card right now!



For quickest gift service, call toll-free 1 800-387-1300 (in Toronto, 961-1359), ask for operator 16



Taking money from gangsters

BY FRED BRUNING

In premillenial America, nothing is more cherished than freedom of choice. Options—we have options like you wouldn't believe. So many boxes of dog biscuits, dishwasher detergent and elbow macaroni fill our supermarket shelves that unpracticed shoppers have been known to freeze in their steps and gaze, sweating and stupefied, at the selections. The same with automobile stereos, X-rated videos, foldaway sofas, hiking gear, cable channels, entertainment magazines and scandal sheets. When we say that this is the land of opportunity, we kid you not.

But, as this odd and obstreperous century skips and stutters towards conclusion, we find that freedom to choose—the infinite assertion of prerogative that Americans consider a birthright—sometimes can be a whole lot less than liberating, and not just for those faint-hearts who lapse into despair while strolling down the canned-goods aisle.

Abortion, of course, is everyone's favorite metaphor for the Tough Choice, though some women say that is mostly a man's point of view. Sometimes overlooked, however, are the less bombastic issues of the day—those odd exercises in picking and choosing that may never occasion national debate, nor be decided by the Supreme Court, nor summon chanting legions to the White House gates.

Among these is the curious, but instructive, case of Thomas and Joseph Gambino, and their gift to the Long Island Jewish Medical Centre. The Gambinos, sons of deceased Mafia boss Carlo Gambino and, according to federal investigators, members of the organized crime family loyal to the formidable John Gotti, have for years raised funds for Long Island Jewish, a large and prominent institution. Most recently, the brothers Gambino exceeded even their own generosity by laying out the better part of $2.3 million for a facility serving children with leukemia.

When officials announced that the hub would be named the Gambino Medical and Science Foundation Bone Marrow Transplantation Unit, there was, in some quarters, a considerable gnashing of teeth, a wondering aloud about the source of the Gambino money, a mighty shudder at the very thought of a respectable hospital accepting gifts from such controversial benefactors.

Political leaders have permitted the Mafia to flourish and infiltrate extensively what is laughingly called legitimate business

Indeed, one trustee said he was astounded by the decision and baffled that Long Island Jewish policymakers had done "something as dumb as this." Finances are one thing, he noted, pride another. "No amount of money these men can give can offset the damage this incident is doing the hospital's reputation," the official said.

Hospital chiefs who favor accepting the Gambino money say that they don't have time for effete and incidental concerns about the source of funding—that they are in the real world trying to haul youngsters back from the edge of oblivion. "As a physician, I am concerned with saving lives," said Dr. Philip Lanzkowsky, chief of pediatrics at Long Island Jewish. "The children who come to this centre would die if such facilities were not provided for them."

So the argument seems perfectly balanced, does it not? Turn down the money and preserve the hospital's good name, or accept the dough, put up with the publicity and continue the business of healing sick kids. What an excruciating dilemma! The high moral ground versus the practical application of mercy. The courage of one's convictions versus the fate of an innocent. If serving as a hospital trustee, how would you vote?

First, it might be well to ask how we got ourselves in such a sticky situation. It might be useful to admit up front that, through fear and neglect, the people of the United States and their political leaders have permitted the underworld, the Mafia, the Cosa Nostra, the mob—who cares what you call this murderous assemblage?—to flourish in our midst and infiltrate extensively what is laughingly called legitimate business.

The Gambino brothers describe themselves in precisely those terms—as legitimate businessmen. Trucking is their livelihood, and what's wrong with that? Tom and Joe Gambino own a fleet of 1,000 vehicles serving New York City's garment trade. Apparently, even in recessionary times, the Gambinos have no trouble finding customers. The brothers are upstanding American entrepreneurs, and they are doing very well.

That is one version of the Gambino success story. Another comes from authorities who are preparing to prosecute Tom Gambino on federal racketeering charges involving extortion, loan-sharking and murder. And brother Joe? Joe Gambino was indicted in August for alleged extortion and restraint of trade. Either a garment manufacturer hires a Gambino truck, says the district attorney of Manhattan, or the garments go nowhere. If the prosecutors are correct, the very shirts and trousers we wear may make us co-conspirators with the Gambino brothers.

Collusion of this sort is everywhere. In a world interconnected by multinational business and avaricious conglomerates, the Mafia represents only another snare for the ordinary citizen. Buying gasoline from a company that respects the environment, or grapes from a farmer who treats his workers decently, or batteries from a firm that emphasizes occupational safety, isn't always easy. Compromise has become the small change of even the humblest transactions.

Along those lines, television host Geraldo Rivera revealed in a new autobiography that he had affairs with a number of prominent women—Bette Midler, Maggie Trudeau and Chris Evert included. But, wait, says Rivera, don't judge his kiss-and-telling too quickly. Proceeds from the book will go to an educational fund for underprivileged city kids. "This," declares the author, "is a case of sin paying for virtue."

Are things as simple as our hero indicates? Can sin pay for virtue, or does the idea somehow prompt stomach cramps and sweaty brows? What responsibilities come with the myriad choices of modern life? The Gambino brothers may answer with little difficulty. But the good folks at Long Island Jewish—and all of us who wear shirts and trousers—are advised to meditate a moment longer. Keep in mind, money talks.

Fred Bruning is a writer with Newsday in New York.

ANGER AT THE CORE

A FRINGE PARTY WINS OPPOSITION STATUS IN NEW BRUNSWICK ON AN ENGLISH-ONLY PLATFORM

Two years ago, Edwin Allen was coasting into a comfortable retirement. In 1987, he had lost his job as a Conservative member of the New Brunswick legislature when Liberal Leader Frank McKenna swept aside the scandal-riddled Tory government of Richard Hatfield, winning all 58 provincial seats. But at 67, Allen could look back on a long record of public service, including a 19-year career as a deputy minister in the provincial civil service and nine years as an MLA representing the riding of Fredericton North—three of them as a cabinet minister. Then, in 1989, the craggy-faced retiree made a radical decision. Allen severed his Conservative ties and joined the fringe Confederation of Regions party, which espouses, among other things, the abolition of official bilingualism and the establishment of English as Canada's sole official language. Last week, in a stunning political upset, Allen, now 71, retook his old riding and found himself set to reenter the New Brunswick legislature alongside seven other victorious CoR candidates. "I concluded that official bilingualism was divisive and costly," Allen said last week, "and that my home was no longer in the Tory party."

Allen's new political base provides him with only limited influence in the legislature. McKenna's Liberals, although not completely sweeping the province again, won an impressive 46 seats—the third-largest number in New Brunswick history. The once-powerful Conservatives ended their legislative exile by winning just three seats, including leader Dennis Cochrane's, while the New Democrats also returned to the house with party leader Elizabeth Weir's victory in the urban riding of Saint John South. It was another considerable triumph for McKenna—but one overshadowed by the fact that, in Canada's only officially bilingual province, a party openly hostile to the two-language policy will now form the official opposition.



McKenna voting: an electoral triumph overshadowed somewhat by CoR's gains

That development is bound to inflame long-standing linguistic tensions in New Brunswick, where about a third of the 750,000 residents are French-speaking. CoR's success in the province, meanwhile, may bring new legitimacy elsewhere to both the formerly obscure political organization and its anti-bilingualism message. "It is a real breakthrough," asserted the party's founder, retired Edmonton car dealer Elmer Knutson. "The federal party will get a lot stronger because of the New Brunswick result."

For Conservatives, however, the failure to recapture their traditional share of the New Brunswick vote—and prevent the defection of such former stalwarts as Allen—underscored the political challenge that faces their party nationally. Said University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "It suggests a spillage to the right out of the Conservative party, which may happen all the way across the country." Should that occur, it would benefit not only CoR, but also the more moderately right-wing Reform party, which shares many of CoR's ideals, including rolling back official bilingualism.

CoR's victory also struck at the administrative heart of New Brunswick. While the Liberals won seats in every part of the province, including 16 of 17 principally francophone ridings—the three ridings taken by the Tories straddled the province's linguistic divide—CoR found much of its most fertile ground in the politically sensitive environs of the provincial capital. The six ridings surrounding Fredericton, where civil servants dominate the voters' rolls, elected five CoR candidates. In part, that result reflected anger among government employees at the McKenna government's spring budget—which froze public service salaries. But an equally powerful factor may have been resistance to the government's policy of increasing the allotment of provincial jobs designated as bilingual positions. Said one anglophone civil servant, a traditional Tory supporter who cannot speak French and this year joined CoR: "No matter how many years' experience you have, you don't have a chance for promotion because the number of bilingual positions have escalated in the past four years."

CoR's electoral breakthrough took place seven years after the party's founding. After launching an anti-bilingualism lobby group in 1980, Knutson entered the political arena in the western provinces in 1984 by running CoR candidates—unsuccessfully—in that year's federal election. Then, in 1986, a loose association of New Brunswick voters fed up with high taxes joined with members from two fringe movements—the right-wing Christian Heritage Party and the Association for the Preservation of English in Canada—to form a maritime chapter of CoR. Last year, the party spread to Ontario, where its candidates finished ahead of the Conservatives in eight ridings in the provincial election.

But it was in New Brunswick, the only Canadian province outside Quebec where francophones account for more than a small minority, where the movement swiftly attracted supporters. In last week's election, in addition to winning eight seats outright—and knocking off two Liberal cabinet ministers in the process—CoR candidates came second in another 18 ridings. Among English-speaking voters, the party captured an impressive 30 per cent of the ballots cast. In fact, almost the only flaw in CoR's performance was the failure of its leader, Arch Pafford, 49, to win his own seat in the riding surrounding his home town of Newcastle. In the wake of his defeat, Pafford, a former car salesman, said that he would announce a decision on his political future this week.

For his part, Allen said that a variety of policies led him to join CoR—not just its aim of dismantling bilingualism. Among the party's other tenets is a proposal to combine the 10 provinces into four jurisdictions: the West, Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic region. The party's literature says that such an arrangement would reduce the power of Quebec in the Canadian federation, explaining cryptically that the province would become "a quarter of the country instead of half." CoR's four regions would each send an equal number of representatives to a powerful elected Senate. The party also calls for free votes on such issues as abortion and capital punishment, and envisages granting voters the right to recall their local MP or senator if their voting record strayed from majority opinion. Said Allen, who predicts that CoR will eventually merge with the Reform party: "When I first read the CoR philosophy, I thought they were nuts. But the more I thought about it, I realized that it offered ways for the public to better express its will."

Still, the language issue is at the centre of the party's political ambitions. During the provincial campaign, CoR canvassers told voters that eliminating French as an official language would save New Brunswick millions of tax dollars that are now spent translating nearly all public documents and providing French-language services at government offices. At the same time, CoR members vigorously denied accusations that their policies were anti-French or racist. "You find bigots in any organization," declared Allen. "But when I hear that kind of talk, I tell people to shut up."

Still, many CoR members are openly hostile towards the French fact in New Brunswick. Earlier this year, Pafford said that New Brunswick should not allow Quebecers to work in the province unless they were willing to become

National Notes

BACK TO THE PICKET LINES

More than 5,000 angry public servants, spurred by reports of lavish bonuses planned for top officials of Crown corporations, stormed Parliament Hill, and government workers represented by the Public Service Alliance of Canada resumed a national walkout. The Commons adjourned early and security staff spirited Prime Minister Brian Mulroney down by a freight elevator and out by a side entrance. The government said that the executive bonus program would be cancelled and stood by its proposal to freeze PSAC wages in the first year of a new contract.

MID-CAMPAIGN CHARGES

At the request of B.C. Premier Rita Johnston, the Social Credit party executive voted to drop former cabinet minister Jack Kempf as a candidate in the Oct. 17 provincial election. Officials from the provincial attorney general's department charged Kempf with breach of trust and theft over $1,000 in connection with the use of constituency-office expense funds. Kempf, 56, a former Socred cabinet minister, rejected Johnston's request to step down voluntarily in the northern riding of Bulkley Valley/Stikine.

SEX FOR VISAS

Immigration official John R. McInnis pleaded guilty to 11 counts related to trading Canadian entry visas for sex during his four-year posting to the Canadian High Commission in Guyana in the mid-1980s. McInnis, 50, admitted he had sex with Guyanese women, in one case with two of them at the same time, and later granted them admission to Canada. He will be sentenced in the Newfoundland Supreme Court this week.

***O CANADA* SEXIST?**

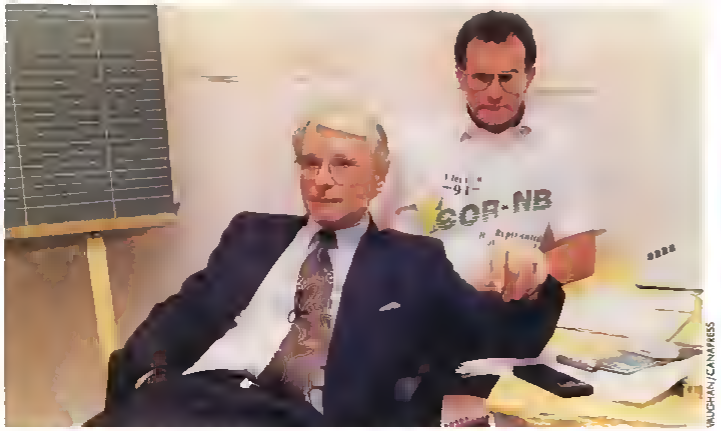
Federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell told a Vancouver high-school audience that Canada's national anthem was sexist because of the lines, "True patriot love, in all thy sons command." Campbell recommended replacing the word "sons" with "children."

PUTTING FISHERMEN TO WORK

The federal and Newfoundland governments held talks on an aid package for the more than 7,000 Newfoundland fishermen and fish plant workers who will qualify for only minimum unemployment insurance benefits—or none at all—this year because of an unusually short fishing season and depleted stocks. A senior Newfoundland cabinet minister, who asked not to be named, said that the package will include a massive job-creation program.

permanent residents And in August, the Saint John *Telegraph-Journal* quoted Everett Chalmers, another CoR recruit from the Conservative party, as saying "We're going to drive all the Frenchmen into Quebec " Three days later, Chalmers issued a statement declaring that the quote was taken out of context, but the newspaper stood by its story. More recently, CoR leaders have at best displayed an insensitivity to the cultural concerns of New Brunswick's French-speaking Acadian community In an interview with *Maclean's* last week, newly elected CoR MLA Gregory Hargrove, a 32-year-old former pipe fitter who was elected in the Fredericton area, insisted that francophones should not fear absorption by the anglophone majority. "Assimilation is not a bad word in my book," said Hargrove, who is of Scottish descent, adding "My people did it—they used to speak Gaelic."

Those statements have sparked harsh criticisms from CoR's opponents "They're anti-French," declared Michel Doucet, a University of Moncton law professor and past president of the Society of Acadians Added Keith MacIntosh, a program analyst in Fredericton and a confirmed Liberal. "If CoR were in Alabama, their initials would be KKK."



VAUGHAN/CANAPRESS

Pafford: a development that is bound to inflame long-standing linguistic tensions

At the same time, CoR's success uncovered a deep division among New Brunswick Conservatives Under Hatfield, the Tories successfully courted support among French-speaking voters by expanding bilingual services in the province But five of CoR's new MLAs are formerly prominent Tories who defected in Allen's wake Declared Dalton Camp, a New Brunswick-based political commentator and veteran Conservative strategist "There were always tensions with those people under Hatfield, but the discipline of power kept them in the party When the party lost, they fell out."

Meanwhile, other analysts said that the federal government's new constitutional proposals, particularly its recommendation that Quebec be recognized as a distinct society, may increase CoR's support in New Brunswick and across English Canada Said Bliss "The kind of people who support CoR are the kind who can't stand the idea that Quebec should be recognized as a distinct society Now we're going to see how many of them there are in Canada "

For his part, McKenna vowed not to yield to pressure from his new opposition to slow the advance of provincial services in French Instead, he spoke philosophically the day after his victory about the place of protest parties in Canada's volatile political landscape "It may be," the 43-year-old premier told *Maclean's*, "that Canada has got to see this hand played out and allow some of these splinter parties to present their alternatives." For the next four years, at least, CoR will have an unequalled opportunity to do exactly that on the floor of the New Brunswick legislature

PAUL KAIHLA *in Fredericton with* *JOHN HOWSE in Calgary*

DANCING ON THE CAMPAIGN BUS

In an era of tightly scripted contests and inaccessible candidates, New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna's campaign for last week's provincial election provided a refreshing example of what politics can still be, unfettered and close to the people At stops in ramshackle community halls and church parking lots, the Liberal premier thrust himself into the midst of adoring crowds, shook hands and answered questions without the protective shielding of bodyguards or political aides It was a long way from the pre-packaging of most modern electioneering.

In fact, McKenna's campaign followed a tradition of populist New Brunswick politics. One distinguishing feature is that television plays a smaller role than in most other provinces. Liberal campaign co-chairman Fernand Landry explained that in some rural northern New Brunswick ridings, many voters do not regularly follow newspaper or TV news. That forces even high-profile cabinet ministers to campaign door to door in search of support, spending hours at a time in family kitchens trying to get their message across.

The small size of New Brunswick constituencies also invites a folksy style: the average riding has a population of about 12,500, compared with 75,700 in Ontario. And while a campaigning premier in Canada's most populous province has to contend with busloads of reporters, fewer than a half-dozen journalists routinely followed the New Brunswick leader on the hustings during the most recent campaign. As a result, those reporters, as well as the public, enjoy easy access to the premier. Observed Dalton Camp, a New Brunswick-based political commentator and veteran Conservative strategist: "When you have big media on a campaign, you have big trouble—so the best thing to do is isolate them. But you don't have to do that in a small province. Here, the whole damn thing is no bigger than a mayoralty race in Hamilton."

On the Liberal bus on the final campaign day, McKenna chatted with reporters while his daughter Tina, 16, completed her high-school geology homework and his wife, Julie, and sons Toby, 14, and Jamie, 13, passed around cans of pop and potato chips. "There is no media advantage to this," McKenna said, when asked if his family's presence was part of a strategy. "It's just an opportunity to be together and have some fun." Still, the 12-hour days in close quarters while travelling New Brunswick's notoriously bumpy roads did produce an intimacy among the premier's advisers and the press. As the bus rolled towards one of the final events, McKenna, his children, campaign workers and reporters danced together unabashedly in the aisle as the sound system blasted rock-music hits. And there was not a spin doctor in sight.

P.K.

BACARDI AND THE BAT DEVICE ARE REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF BACARDI & COMPANY LIMITED

Instant possibilities.



Bring home your favorite fruits or mixer
Add Bacardi white rum, and voila!
A spontaneous sensation

For a free food and drink recipe booklet, write
FBM Distillery Co Ltd , P O Box 368, Brampton, Ont L6V 2L3

Mulroney revealed

A biographer shows the PM's flaws—and strengths

In the conclusion of *Mulroney: The Politics of Ambition*, author and journalist John Sawatsky describes Prime Minister Brian Mulroney as a man who has "repeatedly bounced back from failure, defeat and depression to score even greater victories—somehow turning each seemingly fatal setback to his advantage." That, he said, led him to acquire "a certain admiration" for Mulroney during the course of 3½ years of research into his life. Expanding on the theme in an interview last week with *Maclean's*, Sawatsky said: "The Prime Minister is a larger-than-life figure with larger-than-life virtues—and flaws—in his character." Because of that, he added, "I never count him out—whether the issue is making a constitutional deal or winning the next election."

Still, it appeared that Sawatsky, whose book was released last week, (Macfarlane Walter & Ross, $34.95), had delivered his own setback to the Prime Minister. Shortly after the release of advance copies of the book, the media was awash in reports of its revelations about Mulroney. Among them: his sexual escapades with members of a dance troupe while still single; alleged infidelities shortly after his marriage, and his decision to consult a private counsellor from Alcoholics Anonymous in order to quit drinking in 1979. Those reports led to furious denunciations by friends of Mulroney—and a studied silence from the Prime Minister. But the soft-spoken, 43-year-old Sawatsky said he was "extremely ambivalent" about the furor around him. He added: "I wanted this book to be fair and balanced, and I believe it is. Now, it is being made to appear sensationalist, and that hurts."

In fact, much of the reporting on the contents of Sawatsky's book is a disservice to both the author and his subject. In a 21-year career that has included four books, Sawatsky has established a reputation as a journalist of unquestioned integrity. In *The Politics of Ambition*, he demonstrates an impressive ability to present a balanced and compelling analysis of Mulroney's many-sided character. The man that emerges from its pages is keenly ambitious, but also generous, arrogant and almost equally insecure.

Many of the book's most controversial elements are in Chapter 17, which deals with the years 1976 to 1979—the blackest period of Mulroney's career. Embittered over his defeat by Joe Clark for the Conservative leadership and bored by his job as president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, he began regularly drinking to excess. During that period, Sawatsky says, Mulroney frequently became bitter, renounced his interest in politics and battled long sessions of depression. Even more serious, Sawatsky writes, "Drink both made him amorous and lowered his resistance to temptation." As a result, despite his 1973 marriage to Mila, "he engaged in liaisons with a variety of women." In the book, the author provides no sources and names no names. Sawatsky told *Maclean's* he chose not to do so to avoid sensationalism. He added: "I thought it important to note that this happened, but not to give every little detail."

But that period, as Sawatsky also recounts, led to Mulroney's redemption—and, arguably, Mila's finest hour. Despite the stresses of her husband's behavior, she publicly offered unflinching support while privately urging her husband to mend his ways. When Mulroney successfully quit drinking and turned his renewed energy to his family, business and politics, Sawatsky says, "The single most important force behind his determination was Mila." As a result of Mulroney's growing love and reliance on his wife, Sawatsky adds, his once deeply entrenched sexism softened greatly.

With more than 600 interviews conducted by Sawatsky and a team of student researchers, *The Politics of Ambition* is easily the most comprehensive of the numerous books that have been written about Mulroney. And in spite of the critical nature of some of its revelations, it is closest in tone to a 1984 Mulroney biography written by his friend and sometime speechwriter L. Ian MacDonald. Sawatsky quotes MacDonald's book frequently and spoke to many of the same sources during his preparations. And like MacDonald's book, Sawatsky ends with Mulroney's first election victory in September, 1984.

Despite his balanced intentions, Sawatsky has already received a hostile reception from some Mulroney supporters. One longtime friend of the Prime Minister, Ottawa lobbyist Patrick MacAdam, said that he spent close to 100 hours talking to Sawatsky and now feels "betrayed." Although MacAdam said he has only seen "about 60 per cent" of the final manuscript, he claimed that several incidents in the book that cast Mulroney in an unfavorable light are untrue. Sawatsky said that he is satisfied that his information is accurate. But, said MacAdam, "Sawatsky told me he wanted to write a serious work, like Theodore White did with *The Making of the President*. Instead, he makes like Kitty Kelley"— author of a gossipy book on Nancy Reagan.

Still, many people who read Sawatsky's book to the end are unlikely to share that view. Those who dislike Mulroney's public personality will justify their emotions by some of the private actions that Sawatsky recounts. But the network of friends who have been the recipients of Mulroney's many kindnesses will also find that side of him amply illustrated. In Mulroney, Sawatsky chose a subject who arouses strong feelings in virtually all Canadians. But his portrait of a prime-minister-in-the-making is as large in scope and achievement as the uniquely talented figure he describes with all of his flaws.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH
in Ottawa

Mulroney with Mila: she urged him to mend his ways



PHOTO: J. BEGGS/MACLEAN'S

Because being in business has its ups and downs, we offer flexible loan payments.

1 800 361-2126

The people at the Federal Business Development Bank can work with you in good times and bad times. We can understand down turns or temporary cash shortages with loan payments tailored to your business' ability to pay. For information on all our services—financial, business counselling, planning and venture capital—just call the toll-free number above. Our services complement those available in the private sector.

COMMITTED TO YOUR SUCCESS

Federal Business Development Bank / Banque fédérale de développement

Canada

BRAVE NEW WORDS

Outside the minister's fifth-floor Ottawa office, black clouds announced another late-afternoon September squall. But in his spacious corner suite, decorated with a full-length Canadian flag and a foot-high model of a Mountie on horseback, a relaxed and even good-humored Joe Clark settled into an armchair to take the measure of a week of constitutional cut and thrust. "I didn't know what would happen," confessed Clark, minister of constitutional affairs and engineer-in-chief of a plan to radically overhaul the constitutional foundations of Canada. Said Clark: "I had some hopes that people would be moderate, cautious and constructive." And he declared: "By and large, they have been." But Clark also cautioned that "there is still a lot of misunderstanding in Canada."

That guarded optimism was reflected across the nation last week. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, as he introduced his government's 59-page constitutional proposal, declared: "We want a Constitution cherished in the hearts of all its people." In fact, the package, which comes in the wake of last year's failed Meech Lake accord, captured few hearts outright. Some individuals—among them Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Ovide Mercredi and Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard—bluntly rejected the proposals. But other key political figures, ranging from Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa to Newfoundland's Clyde Wells and Reform party Leader Preston Manning, declared themselves ready to discuss the proposed constitutional blueprint. And, *Maclean's* learned, federal officials were already working on novel ways to quickly transform many elements of the package from proposals into law.

OTTAWA LAYS A REDEFINITION OF CANADA BEFORE THE PEOPLE

At the heart of the federal strategy was a determination to avoid the fate that befell the Meech accord, which foundered in large measure on the requirement that it be adopted unanimously by all 10 provinces. In one initiative designed to encourage a national consensus, an all-party parliamentary committee last week began hearings to canvass public opinion about the latest federal proposals. But whatever final form the constitutional package takes, advisers to Clark and Mulroney said they wanted to ensure that all the proposals can be passed into law with the agreement of any seven provinces representing more than 50 per cent of Canadians.

In addition, one adviser told *Maclean's*, the government might not introduce all of the changes in one constitutional bill. Said the adviser: "It could be separated out into [as many as] 40." That step would permit the federal Parliament and the provincial legislatures to pass different elements of the package separately as consensus emerges—as well as allowing Ottawa to foster shifting coalitions of the required number of provinces around individual proposals for change, rather than having to secure agreement on all elements at one time.

Mixed: Those efforts were driven by the mixed reaction that different parts of the package evoked across the country. For his part, Bourassa initially called the package "useful" but "incomplete," before hardening his tone in the face of strong pressure from Quebec nationalists. Wells, meanwhile, called the proposals "deserving of full and fair consideration," but added, without detail, that in some areas the package went too far. While some left-wing critics accused the government of concealing a harshly conservative economic agenda within its constitutional proposals, many business leaders were openly supportive of the reforms. Said Ghislain Dufour, president of Quebec's Conseil du patronat, which represents 600 large employers across the spectrum of the province's industries: "Quebecers should rejoice."



HYNULA/REUTER

What no one challenged, however, was the sweeping scope of the new federal proposals (page 26). They range from the designation of Quebec as a "distinct society" to the establishment of self-government for natives (page 24). They also include an elected Senate, entrenched property rights and a new body called the Council of the Federation to coordinate federal-provincial relations (page 30). A new "Canada clause" would outline the fundamental characteristics of the country. In addition, provinces would be given exclusive jurisdiction over manpower training, tourism, forestry, mining, housing and municipal affairs, as well as a degree of control over the Bank of Canada. They could also negotiate for control over cultural matters. Said Queen's University dean of law John Whyte: "This is truly big stuff—a very complex piece of statecraft."

Still, federal advisers were plainly concerned that public distrust of the Conservative government could prejudice consideration of the ambitious proposals for change. Within hours of the proposals' release last week, senior officials were calling contacts and opinion-makers across the country to explain the package in detail. Some of those calls included a plea to put any personal animosity towards the Prime Minister aside in making their judgments. There were indications that that strategy may take root. Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, for one, said last week that "in fairness to the nation," committed Mulroney opponents such as she should discount their dislike for the Prime Minister "and take the document on its merits."

And it will be Clark—not Mulroney—who will take the government's case to groups of citizens across the country in the days ahead. He began that task last week, meeting groups of Canadians in Scarborough, Ont.—where he was well received—and later in Valleyfield, Que., where a small group of pro-independence hecklers briefly disrupted his speech. Said Clark, in his interview with *Maclean's*: "I am trying to go to where people have to be persuaded." This week, he had a similar meeting scheduled in Brooks, in southern Alberta, where support for Manning's Reform party is strong.

Challenge: Much of the task of consultation, however, will be in the hands of the 30-member joint House-Senate committee that will tour the country to seek consensus before reporting back to Parliament with its findings by Feb. 28. Its major challenge, acknowledged co-chairman Dorothy Dobbie, a Manitoba Tory MP, "is to establish some credibility." Said Dobbie: "Canadians are very cynical—they've seen these dog and pony shows before and they don't feel necessarily that they accomplish anything." Indeed, the committee's other chairman, Quebec Senator Claude Castonguay, said that he accepted the position only after he was given a preview of the government proposals on Sept. 19. Said Castonguay, who is highly respected in Quebec's business and political communities: "I thought they constituted a valuable basis on which to continue the process." But Castonguay cautions that the committee may face "big difficulties" in Quebec, "where some people are very skeptical."

Castonguay is not alone in feeling that if the government's bold plan unravels, it may do so first in Quebec. There, Bourassa quickly came under heavy

Clark: 'a lot of misunderstanding'

pressure to insist that Quebec receive an expanded constitutional veto over any changes to such national institutions as the Senate and the House of Commons. The present Constitution accords all provinces a limited veto over changes to the institution of the monarchy and the composition of the Supreme Court. As for changes to the Senate and House, most can now be made with the agreement of Ottawa and seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population. The pressure on Bourassa came first from Quebecers who openly support independence. But Bourassa's own intergovernmental affairs minister, Gil Rémillard, also asserted that "no government of Quebec has the right to sign a deal that does not give the province the right of veto."

Concerns: Elsewhere in the country there were concerns about other aspects of the federal package. Native leader Mercredi bitterly criticized a provision that could delay native self-government for as long as 10 years. Environmentalists expressed fear that a proposal to entrench the right to own property in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms would make it more difficult to enforce anti-pollution laws. For his part, Newfoundland's Wells told *Maclean's* that a proposal to mandate the Bank of Canada to control inflation "has no place in a Constitution." In the Commons, NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin charged that proposals aimed at strengthening Canada's economic union in fact veil "a right-wing vision" of the country, characterized by "privatization, deregulation, diminishing social standards and diminishing corporate taxes." Others pointed out that the proposed elected Senate would not provide equal representation in the upper chamber for each province—a goal of critical importance in the West.

Some of the fiercest opposition to the package, however, is certain to focus on its proposed recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society"—wording that also helped scuttle the Meech accord. Said Manning: "With special status, you end up with a house divided." But Clark insisted that the clause is one element of the federal package that is not negotiable, and he predicted that other Canadians will come to accept it. Said Clark: "I think Canadians will say, 'Look, this is a worthy country. Let's accept the realities about it.'"

But privately, federal officials were already indicating last week that there are other areas where they are prepared to make concessions. Following objections by Quebec opinion leaders to some federal proposals directed at bolstering the national economic union, officials said that they are prepared to reassure Quebec that such key provincial institutions as its Caisse de dépôt investment fund will not be affected. As well, they indicated that the government is prepared to reduce the 10-year waiting period for native self government and limit the scope of the proposed clause guaranteeing property rights. And one senior official said that a proposal by Ontario Premier Bob Rae to include a charter of social rights "is not precluded."

For his part, Clark acknowledged the danger that more heat than light may dominate the discussion in the crucial months to come. Citizens preoccupied with economic conditions, he said, "have enough problems," and are frustrated and exhausted with constitutional dialogue. "If those hard opinions prevail," Clark added, "we're going to have trouble getting a consensus." But Clark said that he remains an optimist. "All of my disposition, all of my training and instinct is to say, yes, we have a good chance." That is a hope that many Canadians of different political stripes will share in the crucial months ahead.



SUZANNE STANLEY

Mercredi: condemning a deadline

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *and* **GLEN ALLEN** *in Ottawa with correspondents' reports*

'A BETRAYAL OF ABORIGINALS'

Native leader Ovide Mercredi heard the details of the government's plans for a renewed Constitution when he flicked on the TV set in his Wetaskiwin, Alta., hotel room at 8 a.m. local time last Tuesday. As he watched Prime Minister Brian Mulroney outlining the government's new proposals in the House of Commons, the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations became increasingly distressed. Later that day, after flying 280 km north to Slave Lake to attend a meeting of chiefs from northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories, he began working on a harsh condemnation of Ottawa's road map for Canada's future. Declared Mercredi: "The constitutional proposals released today are a betrayal of aboriginal people." Mercredi condemned Ottawa's proposal to set a 10-year deadline for establishing native self-government—with the federal government and the leaders of Canada's 1.2 million natives negotiating the details before that time. Said Mercredi: "We want no more of this grant-and-delay process. The government has given aboriginal people too many hundreds of years of that."

Some other native leaders also expressed their displeasure. Elijah Harper, the Manitoba Cree who last year blocked ratification of the Meech Lake accord in that province's legislature, said that natives should be accorded the same "distinct" status that the government is offering to Quebec. Added Harper: "We seem to have been placed as second-class citizens again."

Still, several native leaders said that the proposals provided a basis for further discussion. Declared Yvon Dumont of the Métis National Council, for one: "We see a lot to build on." And according to Joseph Otokiak, a spokesman for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, a 10-year negotiating period is reasonable. He added: "We have waited so long now another 10 years is not going to make any real difference."

But Mercredi, who represents the 600,000 natives who are recognized under the Indian Act, remained in opposition. In Ottawa, he said that he will meet with his chiefs this week to decide whether to cooperate with the Commons-Senate committee that is studying the new unity proposals, or to deal directly with Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark instead. Either way, Mercredi said that the Assembly of First Nations still intends to reach its own consensus on the Constitution, employing seven native commissioners who will hold about 60 hearings across Canada over the next few months. That process, for which Ottawa is providing $3.3 million in funding, resulted from an agreement between Mercredi and Clark in July. Despite his reservations about Ottawa's latest proposals, Mercredi clearly thinks that the two sides can still find some common ground.

GLEN ALLEN *in Ottawa*

THE CITY INSPIRED BY A SAINT, BUILT BY AN EMPEROR AND ABANDONED BECAUSE OF A FREAK OF NATURE.



This is the story about the most beautiful ghost city in the world.

Our tale begins over 400 years ago when northern India was ruled by a Moghul emperor named Akbar. One day, according to legend, Akbar left his palace city of Agra and made a 40 km pilgrimage to visit a saint named Shaikh Salim Chishti. The holy man then predicted the birth of three male heirs to Akbar's childless wives. As a tribute to the birth of his first son, Akbar decided to build a new capital city on the very spot where the revelations were made. He named the city Fatehpur Sikri or 'City of Victory.' It took 14 years and 10,000 artisans to complete the Persian masterpiece of red sandstone architecture. Over 500 beautiful temples and buildings were built within the walls of the city. Strange as it seems, the city was suddenly hit by a freak, unexplained problem. The water supply dried up. No one knows why. As quickly as the city was populated, it was abandoned. If you visit Fatehpur today you will see everything the way it was. A preserved relic of India's rich history. The story of India is steeped in tradition. Yet it is a land that embraces the new. It is a land of contrasts, a haunting beauty that stays forever. If you visit, you will come away enlightened. You will come away with stories. You will never forget India and you'll wonder why you waited so long.





MC 10791

Let us tell you more
Return this coupon for
your free India Travel Guide

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY PROVINCE POSTAL CODE

Mail to Government of India Tourist Office
60 Bloor Street West Suite 1003
Toronto Ontario
M4W 3B8

The Land Of
A Hundred Thousand Stories.
India

CRITICAL DEPARTURES

THE N UNITY PLAN VENTURES INTO MANY AREÆVER BEFORE DISCUSSED OPENLY

SUBJECTS	NEW PROPOSALS	MEECH LAKE ACCORD	OTHER OPTIONS
CANADA CLAUSE	States Canadian values and characteristics that describe "who we are as a people and who we aspire to be," including the equality of men and women, as well as commitments to the well-being of all Canadians and the democratic parliamentary system of government.	No comparable clause.	
DISTINCT SOCIETY	Both the Canada clause and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms would recognize Quebec's responsibility to preserve and promote its distinct society, defined as its language, culture and civil law.	Quebec's right to preserve and promote its distinct society, which was not defined, would have been stated in the Constitution Act so that its effect was not limited to the Charter.	Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells is one of many critics who say that equality of the provinces is a more important principle than the recognition of distinct societies. He opposes any provision that would give powers to Quebec that other provinces do not have.
SENATE REFORM	The upper house would be elected, with equitable provincial and territorial representation. After public consultation, the parliamentary committee studying the new proposals would recommend the number of senators to be elected from each province and territory; some native representation would be guaranteed.	Ottawa would have continued to appoint senators, but from lists of candidates nominated by provinces. Future Senate reform would have required the unanimous consent of Ottawa and all provinces (now, only seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population need to approve changes).	Western provinces and Newfoundland have called for equal—not just more equitable—numbers of members from each province in an elected Senate. The Quebec Liberal party's Allaire Report called for the abolition of the Senate.
ABORIGINAL RIGHTS	Native groups would automatically have self-government, subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in 10 years if they had not already negotiated it before that time.	No comparable clause.	Native groups have called for immediate recognition of their inherent *right* to self-government, without reference to the Charter or other Canadian law.
FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS	A Council of the Federation, a body with provincial, territorial and federal delegates, would approve new federal economic legislation as well as new federal spending programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction. Its decisions would need the endorsement of Ottawa and seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population.	Would have constitutionally entrenched annual First Ministers' meetings.	
FEDERAL ECONOMIC POWERS	The proposal would lift interprovincial barriers to the free movement of capital, people, goods and services. Ottawa would gain the right to pass laws to create a more effective economic union—with the approval of seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population.	No comparable clause.	Quebec has called for a stronger commitment to economic union, while insisting that it gain more power to control its own economy.
DIVISION OF POWERS	Ottawa would transfer authority over manpower training and negotiate constitutional agreements on culture and immigration with interested provinces.	Would have allowed other provinces to follow Quebec's lead in negotiating immigration agreements with Ottawa. Those agreements would have had constitutional status. There would have been no other change in the division of powers.	The Quebec Liberal party's Allaire Report called for a sweeping transfer of powers to the provinces, listing 22 areas that included agriculture, manpower training, energy and unemployment insurance. Other provinces have also demanded increased powers.
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM	There would be more free votes, allowing members of Parliament to act according to their convictions, rather than party discipline.	No comparable clause.	The Reform party is among proponents of broader reforms, including greater use of referendums and provisions for the recall of MPs by petition if they do not reflect their constituents' views.
CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS	An amendment to the Charter would guarantee property rights, which it does not define.	No comparable clause.	Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who opposes the property rights recommendation, has called for the addition of a constitutional charter of social rights outlining the fundamental entitlement of Canadians to such benefits as education, welfare and housing.
NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE	Governments would need a 60-per-cent majority vote in their legislatures—instead of the current 50 per cent—to invoke the clause, which circumvents parts of the Charter of Rights. And each application of the clause would lapse in three years, instead of five.	No comparable clause.	Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells is among proponents of the complete removal of the controversial clause.
FEDERAL SPENDING POWER	Any new federal spending in areas of provincial jurisdiction would require the approval of seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population. Dissenting provinces could opt out with compensation if their own programs met the federal objectives.	Ottawa would have provided compensation to any province that opted out of a new federal program in an area of provincial jurisdiction, as long as it established its own program compatible with the national objectives.	Quebec's Allaire Report has called for the abolition of Ottawa's right to spend in areas of exclusive provincial jurisdiction. By contrast, many social groups argue for an unrestricted federal power.

Chart by ERIC LEGGE. Compiled by NANCY WOOD and MARY JANIGAN



Clark congratulating Mulroney on the new proposals: offering something to almost everyone

SIGNPOSTS TO SURVIVAL

OTTAWA PLANS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

It is a fascinating vision of Canada in the 21st century. Aboriginals govern themselves. Quebec proudly preserves and promotes its distinct society. A powerful federal-provincial Council of the Federation resolves disputes between the formerly feuding levels of government. Budget policies across the nation are synchronized. Ottawa seeks consensus before it initiates any new Canada-wide social programs. On Parliament Hill, a Senate designed in 1867 to protect the interests of wealthy property owners has been transformed into an elected voice for provincial concerns. In the House of Commons, government MPs are more willing—and able—to oppose their own party's legislation when it clashes with their constituents' interests.

Those dramatic proposals are central to Ottawa's new, far-reaching package of constitutional reform. After five months of delicate behind-the-scenes negotiations, the federal government last week unveiled a 59-page package that offered something to almost every group and every region in Canada. There are proposals to expand the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, to invigorate federal institutions and to grant new rights to aboriginals and Quebec. Ottawa would assume a greater role in the direction of the economy—but it could only act with the approval of the provinces. Observed University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simeon: "The vision is one of balance. The vision is that we live in a country that is divided in many ways—and our Constitution must reach out to all those different groups."

That vision stands in stark contrast to the Conservative government's previous effort to amend the Constitution. The Meech Lake constitutional accord died in June, 1990, after three years of acrimonious and divisive debate. During high-pressure secretive conferences, 10 provincial premiers and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney devised that limited six-point accord to satisfy Quebec's demands for greater powers—and then insisted that it could not be changed. Last week, both the approach and the content were different. The proposal pointedly proclaimed: "This is Canada's round." As well, Mulroney repeatedly stressed that every proposal is open to discussion—and change. As a senior federal official told *Maclean's*: "It is a vision of economic integration on the one hand and more space for identities on the other."

Some key elements:

THE DISTINCT SOCIETY CLAUSE

The recognition of Quebec's right to preserve and promote its "distinct society" aroused intense emotions during the Meech Lake debate. Some experts contended that the clause would take precedence over such Charter rights as the equality of male and female persons. Others warned that Quebec could use the clause to wrest new powers from Ottawa.

To reassure those critics, the new proposal places the distinct society provision in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—where it could not have any effect on the division of powers. The clause stipulates that the Charter must be interpreted to take account of "the preservation and promotion of Quebec as a distinct society within Canada." Because the new distinct society reference is in a so-called interpretative clause, it is subordinate to the Charter's flat assertion that men and women are equal. Still, the new clause could likely curtail such Charter rights as freedom of expression to permit Quebec's limit on the use of English on commercial signs. The new version also provides a partial definition of distinct society, noting that it "includes" a French-speaking majority, a unique culture and a civil-law tradition. Said University of Toronto law professor Katherine Swinton, who helped to draft the proposals: "The rationale is to give solace to Quebec's English-language minority and to some who opposed it the last time on the grounds that it was too open-ended."

ECONOMIC UNION

Three dramatic and highly controversial proposals are designed to modernize Canada's economy in an increasingly competitive world. For one thing, after decades of provincial delay, Ottawa says that it wants to lift the barriers that impede trade and business dealings across provincial borders. The Constitution Act, 1867, has prevented provinces from imposing tariffs on goods from other provinces. To circumvent that, the provinces have employed non-tariff barriers to prevent the free flow of such products as beer. The new proposal states that Canada is an economic union "within which persons, goods, services and capital may move freely without barriers or restrictions based on provincial or territorial boundaries." Federal equalization or regional development programs would be exempt. Exemptions would also be granted to federal or provincial laws that Ottawa deemed to be "in the national interest."

The second proposal would give exclusive power to Parliament to pass laws "in relation to any matter that it declares to be for the efficient functioning of the economic union." Those laws would require the approval of seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population. Dissenting provinces could refuse to implement new rules if 60 per cent of their legislators voted to "opt out" for a period of up to three years.

That unusual proposal immediately sparked heated debate. Some critics contend that Ottawa is taking power from the provinces under the guise of strengthening the economic union. Charged Thomas Courchene, director of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University: "It allows Ottawa to emasculate anything that moves in Quebec. In the name of efficiency, Ottawa could nationalize the Montreal stock exchange. Quebec might be forced to opt out—while the rest of Canada dumps on it—to maintain institutions that have been part of its entrepreneurial revolution for the last 20 years." University of Alberta economics professor Kenneth Norrie countered that the new federal power is not as mighty as it first appears. Said Norrie: "It is a federal power, but it is a federal power that four provinces can kill."

Ottawa also wants to develop guidelines with the provinces to harmonize their fiscal and spending policies with its monetary policy. Finance ministers would co-ordinate budget plans—and monitor the economy with the aid of a new, independent agency. The Bank of Canada would receive a highly unusual specific constitutional mandate to fight inflation.



Bourassa: redefining distinct society

That approach—benign and efficient on the surface—carries serious political and economic implications. For one thing, it would restrict the bank's ability to remedy other economic problems such as unemployment. In the past, central banks have increased the money supply in an attempt to lower interest rates and to stimulate the economy. That move often fuelled inflation. The new proposal would likely prevent that approach any increase in inflation would violate the bank's constitutional mandate. Said Courchene: "The notion that the Bank of Canada mandate would be to maintain price stability is absurd. That is policy. You should never have policy in the Constitution." Other critics point out that Ottawa is not in any position to set an example for the provinces when it is running an annual budget deficit of at least $30 billion—and has accumulated a debt of more than $400 billion.

THE SENATE AND THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION

The proposal acknowledges that "Canada's political institutions must be revitalized." As a result, it recommends the overhaul of Canada's upper house and the creation of a new executive body, a Council of the Federation (page 30). The federal government now appoints the members of the 104-seat Senate according to an antiquated formula that, in one anomaly, gives four seats to tiny Prince Edward Island and just six to British Columbia, which has approximately 25 times the population. In its place, the proposal calls for an elected Senate with "much more equitable" provincial and territorial representation. Federal officials told *Maclean's* that Ottawa stopped short of calling for equal representation from each province because it did not want to spark a furious cross-Canada debate. The new Senate could defeat most Commons legislation—but it could only delay "matters of particular national importance," such as defence, for six months. Bills affecting language and culture would require the approval of a so-called double majority—the approval of both francophone and anglophone senators.

The new Council of the Federation, in turn, would formalize the practice of federal-provincial meetings—and give constitutional force to their agreements. The council would have to approve any new national shared-cost programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction, such as health and education. As well, Ottawa could not use its new powers to strengthen the economic union without the council's approval.

The two proposals will likely cause a major debate. Some experts contend that the creation of the council formalizes executive federalism—an already-unpopular method of government under which national policy is set by a select and often secretive group of cabinet ministers or first ministers. They say that instead, the elected Senate should represent provincial interests. Others counter that provincial governments should be partners in devising policies that they are asked to fund and to implement.

NATIVE RIGHTS

The proposal recognizes the aboriginal right to self-government—although the implementation of that right may require up to 10 years. There is no legal definition of self-government, but it would likely include control over health, education and justice—subject to the Charter. The proposal calls for Ottawa, the provinces and the territories to negotiate with native groups to establish self-government agreements. If, after 10 years, there is no agreement, natives would still gain the right to self-

government—and it would be left to the courts to define the concept. Said University of Toronto law professor Patrick Macklem: "It might give some bargaining power to aboriginals, knowing they will have an enforceable right within 10 years. In the past, they have come to the table with no bargaining power."

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

The proposal would add a guarantee of property rights to the Charter. Its proponents say that it would ensure that any public expropriation of private property would require governments to show that the action is necessary, and to pay a reasonable price. But the clause may lead to conflicts among different sets of values. For one thing, the courts might be asked to decide if a landlord has the right to reject a handicapped tenant, that is, whether the right to property takes precedence over equality rights.

The proposal would also make it more difficult to invoke the notwithstanding clause, which allows the federal or provincial governments to override key rights with a simple majority vote. Under the new proposal, the approval of 60 per cent of a legislature's members would be required to use the clause. As well, the override would last for only three years—instead of the current five—before it would have to be renewed.

CANADA CLAUSE

It is a general statement of who Canadians "are as a people and who we aspire to be." The proposal lists 14 aspects of Canada's character. Those include the equality of men and women and a general "commitment to the well-being of all Canadians." Senior federal officials said that the clause could be expanded later to meet Ontario's demand for a social charter that would protect such programs as medicare and welfare.

DIVISION OF POWERS

Last spring, the Quebec Liberal party's Allaire Report called for exclusive provincial jurisdiction over 22 areas, including language and culture. Ottawa largely ignored those demands. Instead, it offered to transfer manpower training to the provinces and to negotiate constitutional agreements in the areas of culture and immigration with individual provinces. As well, it offered to recognize the provinces' exclusive jurisdiction over six areas, including tourism. Another proposal would allow Ottawa and any province to delegate powers to each other.

Those major proposals represent only a beginning. Each will be weighed carefully to evaluate its political and legal consequences. Constitutional renewal now revolves on the responses to Ottawa's new approach to old but explosive problems.

MARY JANIGAN *and* **NANCY WOOD**
in Ottawa



LOCKE/PETER WILLS

Wells' recommending 'full and fair consideration' of the post-Meech proposals

'WE WANT YOUR SUPPORT'

Melvin Smith spent 26 years attending federal-provincial conferences. He obviously was not impressed. "They meet solemnly, say 'Yes, yes, we will do this and that'—and then forget about the whole thing," said Smith, who retired in May as British Columbia's top constitutional adviser. Deciding that it was time for a change, Smith's last undertaking for the B.C. government was a wide-ranging search for new approaches to managing the relationship between Ottawa and the provinces. Last April, he released a report recommending the creation of a permanent body that he called the Council of the Federation to decide questions of federal-provincial importance. That recommendation quickly caught Ottawa's imagination—and last week the federal government included it in its far-reaching proposals for constitutional change.

Presenting it as a means of overcoming the often fractious relations among Canada's governments, the federal blueprint laid out plans to create a new body bringing together delegates from the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The council, whose composition is unspecified, would review federal activity in critical areas such as new social policies affecting the whole nation and initiatives to strengthen the economic union of Canada. Its decisions, however, would require the approval of the federal government and the legislatures of at least seven provinces representing 50 per cent of the population—a measure that would, in effect, give the provinces a collective veto over many new federal programs. Even with that ratification, any dissenting province could refuse to implement a new policy.

For his part, Smith claims that empowering the provinces would result in greater intergovernmental co-operation—not confrontation. He points to Germany's upper house, the Bundesrat, which is made up of state delegates who can veto certain federal policies. "The veto is very rarely used," said Smith, who visited West Germany in 1977 to study the system. "The fact that it is there causes the federal government to come to the state governments and say, 'Look, we want this policy, we want your input, we want your support.'"

Some analysts, though, say that other avenues exist for redefining federal-provincial relations. Richard Simeon, a constitutional expert at the University of Toronto, for one, questioned whether an entirely new government body is required for that purpose. An elected Senate, Simeon added, might be better equipped to assume a more important role within the federation. That debate will intensify over the coming months—spurred on by the lack of visible results from the current, often chaotic system of federal-provincial discussions.

NANCY WOOD *in Ottawa*



A MIRROR ON A PROVINCE

MONTREAL'S ECONOMY IS CRUMBLING

On a crisp morning last week, clouds shrouded the landmark tower of Montreal's Olympic Stadium, obscuring the normally striking view of the building from the sprawling grounds of CP Rail's Angus Shops, 15 blocks away. Taking a break from his job as a tinsmith, CP employee Pierre Lebrun laughed derisively as he described the structure's latest brush with notoriety. The "Big Owe," as many Montrealers call the $1.2-billion structure, has been closed indefinitely as a result of a 55-ton concrete beam shearing away from the exterior wall on Sept. 13 and crashing down on a concourse where visitors often walk. "That's a real white elephant, all right," said Lebrun, 39, as he gestured towards the clam-shaped structure. But he paused as he surveyed the low-rise red-brick buildings of the surrounding train maintenance yard. Said Lebrun: "But at least it's not extinct like this place will soon be."

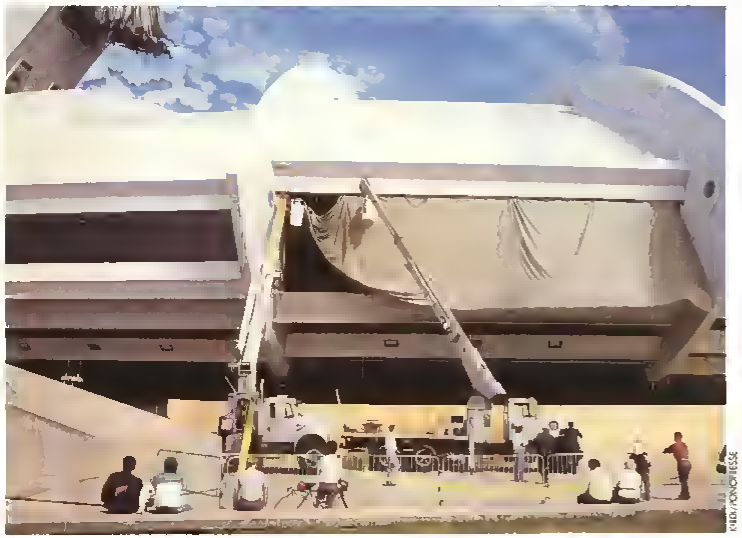
The gloomy pall that obscured the stadium tower matched the mood of the workers at the historic Angus Shops themselves last week. Three days after the stadium beam collapsed, CP Rail announced that it would close the 88-year-old facility by Jan. 3, putting 720 of its 900 remaining employees out of work. Once a beacon of Montreal's industrial might, the Angus Shops have now joined the Olympic Stadium as a symbol of the city's crumbling economy and bruised civic pride. And in a week when Quebecers began to assess Ottawa's latest proposals for a renewed confederation, gloomy forecasts for the city's economic future dampened enthusiasm for any quick embrace of Quebec independence. Said economist Laurent Picard, "All the recent bad news has exposed the underlying weakness of Montreal's economy."

The compendium of dismal events is extensive—and chastening to a business community that as recently as 18 months ago was confident in its economic strength. Montreal lost 42,000 jobs in the 12 months following July, 1990, many of them in high-profile companies such as Domtar Inc., which cut 1,300 employees. Another 1,780 workers lost their jobs when Pascal Inc., a prominent family-owned furniture retail chain, went bankrupt. Air Canada cut 1,058 jobs, with another 700 still to come by January. But the biggest shock was provided by Lavalin Inc., the brash engineering company that had been the jewel of Quebec's entrepreneurial revolution in the 1970s and 1980s, when it had to be absorbed by rival SNC Group Inc. in August to stave off bankruptcy. Noted Jean-V. Dufresne, a columnist with the *Journal de Montréal*: "Montrealers are like a boxer who is weaving in a corner of the ring after taking too many blows."

Sobering: In fact, many members of Quebec's business and political elites have been struck by a sudden sobering awareness of the province's vulnerability. Said Picard: "People are starting to say, 'Maybe we've overblown our capabilities.' We tended to believe in a kind of invincibility in the business world that was not only naïve, but dysfunctional." Few business leaders expect that the current economic uncertainty alone will drive Quebecers back into the federalist fold. But Dufresne, for one, argues that if Ottawa pursues its plan for an economic union, but guarantees not to trample on provincial economic institutions such as the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, then "Quebecers might be willing to make a deal."

And clearly, the embarrassment of having to close Olympic Stadium has added to Montreal's jitters. Last week, security guards and metal fences with yellow "danger" stickers kept visitors out of harm's way, and a green tarpaulin covered the gaping hole where the concrete beam and some Plexiglas windows had broken away. "We're a laughingstock now," said a stadium security guard who asked not to be named. "People outside Quebec wouldn't care if the whole damn thing fell in on us." Montreal entertainment impresario Donald Tarlton was more hopeful. "The collective political headache and recession has given everyone negative vibes," said the head of Donald K. Donald Productions Inc. "But all we need are a couple of victories and we will be partying again." Such optimism was a rare commodity last week, as Quebecers grimly weighed their constitutional—and economic—options.

BRUCE WALLACE *in Montreal*



VIKO/PONCHI PRESSE

Damage at Olympic Stadium: staggering setbacks have dampened enthusiasm for independence

Toshiba brings you the changing world.



What is the driving force behind Toshiba's constant innovations? To keep people at the forefront of technological change in an increasingly complex world.

To help open your eyes to the world, take a look at this Super Tube with its delicate color contrast and astonishing nuance of shades. Equipped with the innovative CRT, this is the first TV to usher in the era of exceptionally high picture quality.

Toshiba's innovations in semiconductor technology have made us a world leader in this field. By utilizing advanced technology in an intelligent way, this masterpiece of realistic images called Super Tube was created.

The world is showing its new colors. See them on a Toshiba.

In Touch with Tomorrow

TOSHIBA

For further information, call 1-800-268-3210

Some valleys will remind you of Bordeaux others of Tuscany.

The wines however enjoy a reputation unique to the Californias.



Sonoma The valley at Asti looking east

When the forefathers of today's California winemakers first arrived here, they hoped to emulate the excellent wines from vineyards they had left behind

But things turned out differently Because as well as vines and skills from their homelands they brought an energy and enthusiasm which set them apart

Helped by climates and soils which gave a consistency of vintage previously unattainable, the wineries of the Californias gained a reputation for skills and innovation all of their own

Now, generations later, the winemakers here are glad that this reputation is something you too can now really enjoy



Wines of the Californias

COULD THIS BE THE MOST PERFECT PLACE ON EARTH TO MAKE WINE?

DICTATOR OR DEMOCRAT?

SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS OF GEORGIA'S PRESIDENT WAGE A MURDEROUS FIGHT

On Tbilisi's broad Rustaveli Prospekt last week, a worker used a pneumatic drill to erase the carved visages of Vladimir Lenin and other Communist leaders from the front of the former Marxist-Leninist Institute. An audience gave him enthusiastic applause in one of the few recent incidents that met with widespread approval among the 1.3 million residents of the Georgian capital. Elsewhere, heavily armed forces from the republican government and the opposition, each seeking popular support, fought one another fiercely, leaving at least six people dead by week's end. The now-defunct institute stood about halfway between the two forces. About one kilometre to the west were opposition leaders, using the television studios that they have seized to denounce Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia as a dictator. To the east, along a six-lane thoroughfare, loyalists at the barricaded state legislature swore that only Gamsakhurdia could lead Georgia to full independence. And over that stalemated struggle for power loomed what parliamentary chairman Akaki Asatiani called the "threat of civil war."



SIGHOV/SIPA

Gamsakhurdia; antigovernment protesters (opposite): a would-be dictator or nationalist savior?

Strongly held political positions are customary in Georgia, a sunny, mountainous republic whose 5.4 million residents can choose between more than 100 political parties. And Gamsakhurdia, a former dissident who has endured jail terms and solitary confinement during the long struggle for Georgian independence, has been one of his native land's most controversial political figures. Supporters of the 52-year-old president point to the overwhelming popular mandate that he received last May, when 87 per cent of participating voters awarded him a five-year term in office. But opposition leaders, including his former prime minister and foreign minister, say that Gamsakhurdia is becoming a dictator who is stifling democracy by jailing rivals and critics and taking control of the media. The inconclusive gun battles in Tbilisi last week underlined the economic and political paralysis that has gripped the republic during a month-long standoff between the two sides. And although at week's end both sides entered negotiations and expressed at least modest hope of compromise, the fighting in Georgia and elsewhere has dimmed the chances of the former Soviet Union transforming itself peacefully into a loose assembly of independent states.

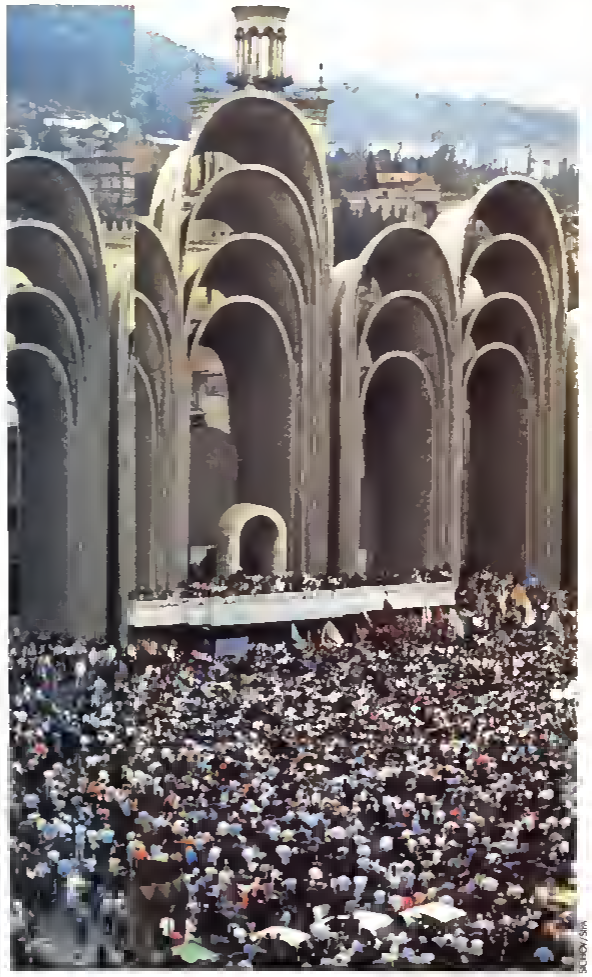
The taming of the August coup has severely weakened the Kremlin's political and military control, and ethnic violence and political unrest have erupted in many areas. In the southwestern republic of Moldova, three people were injured last week when contingents of republican police cleared barriers at a bridge over the Dniester river. Members of the area's 700,000 Russian and Ukrainian population had erected the roadblocks to strengthen their self-proclaimed establishment of the Trans-Dniester Republic. Meanwhile, on the river's eastern bank, representatives of the Slavic population say bluntly that they do not share the Moldovan majority's desire for unification with their ethnic group in neighboring Romania.

Further south in the old empire, fresh ethnic violence erupted in Nagorno-Karabakh, a mountainous region claimed by both Azerbaijan and neighboring Armenia. And the Central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan dramatically reversed the anti-Communist tide that has swept across the Soviet Union in the wake of the coup: legislators in the republic's Communist-dominated parliament forced the resignation of reformist acting President Kadreddin Aslonov. They also revoked Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's suspension of Communist activities. Thousands of protesters assembled in the centre of the republican capital, Dushanbe, to demonstrate against the party's action.

In Georgia, meanwhile, the Kremlin's influence, real or imagined, seemed to be everywhere. Both opponents and supporters of Gamsakhurdia said that the current fighting will only keep the republic bound to a discredited empire. During an impromptu discussion in a stairwell of the TV centre that the opposition forces seized on Sept. 18, Nodar Notadze, a 62-year-old economist and politician, told *Maclean's* that even the triumph of democratic reformers in Moscow did not necessarily mean the end of Russian imperialism. Notadze, one of the leaders of a 37-party coalition that is now opposing Gamsakhurdia, declared: "It is hard for any of the current generation of Russian politicians to really let go of such a rich prize as Georgia."

Tengiz Sigua, the former prime minister who was recently dismissed from Gamsakhurdia's government, added another element to the conspiracy theories swirling around Tbilisi. He cited Gamsakhurdia's swift co-operation with the hard-line coup leaders in August, particularly his attempt to dissolve the republic's 15,000-member national guard. But 1,500 men in the newly formed militia refused to obey that order, providing Gamsakhurdia's opponents with an armed force to support their demands. Sigua said that the Georgian president's motive for initially accepting the coup was simple: he thought that it would help him to develop his personal dictatorship. Gamsakhurdia denies that charge and, in fact, any suggestion that he is building authoritarian power.

As Sigua talked, some of the rebel guardsmen protecting the building passed the time by cleaning their AK-47 automatic rifles and sharpening bayonets and heavy combat knives. Outside, other soldiers propped themselves against the dark-green hulls of three armored personnel carriers that were parked nearby. Only two kilometres away, there was a similar scene at the imposing legislature building that was shielded by a cordon of parked buses. Two armored vehicles stood in the courtyard, and thirsty soldiers who had remained loyal to Gamsakhurdia used an ornamental fountain as a handy source of drinking water. Inside the vaulted marble halls of the parliament, Gamsakhurdia, a tall figure in a well-cut, double-breasted grey suit, expounded his theory of the cause of Georgia's troubles. According to the president, so-called agents of the Kremlin, notably fellow Georgian Eduard Shevardnadze, had unleashed a civil and military coup against him.



SIGHOV/SIPA

To most outsiders, that accusation against the former Soviet foreign minister sounds absurd. The reason: Shevardnadze resigned his post in December while warning of a coming dictatorship. And Shevardnadze, who has consistently denied involvement in any conspiracy against Gamsakhurdia, never wavered in his opposition to the coup leaders' three-day hold on power in August.

Few of his Georgian countrymen share the Western view of Shevardnadze as a silver-haired liberal statesman. Instead, they recall him as a hard-line former police chief and first secretary of the local Communist party. During his 14-year tenure ending in 1985, the London-based human-rights group Amnesty International complained about his ruthless

World Notes

SWEEPING ARMS CUTS

Citing an "unparalleled opportunity" offered by the death of Soviet communism, President George Bush announced that the United States will destroy all of its ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons and bring home all nuclear cruise missiles from submarines and warships. Bush called on the Soviet Union to "go down this road with us," and President Mikhail Gorbachev swiftly pledged reciprocity. Despite their sweeping scope, matching cuts would still leave both sides with thousands of land- and submarine-based long-range ballistic missiles.

A FLIER FREED

After 865 days in captivity, British hostage Jack Mann, 77, was freed by the pro-Iranian Revolutionary Justice Organization in Beirut. With his wife, Sunnie, the former Royal Air Force Second World War fighter pilot had been living in Beirut since 1946, where he worked first as a commercial flier and later as a bar manager. Earlier in September, Israel freed 51 Lebanese prisoners under a UN plan to win the freedom of all Western hostages. At week's end, the release of another captive appeared imminent.

BREAKTHROUGH IN BAGHDAD

The United Nations Security Council ended a tense four-day standoff in Baghdad between Iraqi soldiers and 44 UN inspectors after agreeing to provide Iraq with an inventory of nuclear-weapons documents that the inspectors seized. Troops had detained the team, which includes at least five Canadians, in a compound outside a nuclear research facility. Under UN resolutions, Iraq is supposed to disclose and destroy all its nuclear weapons.

ROMANIAN RIOTS

Romania's government resigned after thousands of coal miners violently protested against tough economic reforms. Four people were killed in battles between police and club-wielding miners who ransacked the parliament in Bucharest. The government, made up of many former Communists, was formed after a 1989 revolution that led to the execution of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

A SENATE STALEMATE

In Washington, the Senate Judiciary Committee split 7 to 7 on whether to approve the nomination of black conservative Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. The committee will send the nomination without recommendation to the full Senate, which is expected to confirm Thomas, 43, as early as this week.



HERNANDEZ/SIPA

Troops loyal to Gamsakhurdia: the failed August coup severely weakened the Kremlin's control over its Soviet empire

crackdown on Georgian nationalists. One of those opponents of Soviet rule, imprisoned for several months between 1977 and 1979, was Gamsakhurdia—one of the few dissidents who eventually succeeded Communist rulers to power.

In any event, Georgians' sharply differing views of Gamsakhurdia as would-be dictator or nationalist savior hardened as violence struck the streets of Tbilisi. Two soldiers from each side died last week in an early-morning clash near the city's electrical-power administration building. Government representatives cited numerous bullet pockmarks in the building's walls and windows to support their claim that rebel guardsmen had attacked the structure. But Georgy Shengelya, a film-maker who was acting as a spokesman for the opposition, insisted that pro-government soldiers had fired first on a car whose driver was taking a sick rebel guardsman to hospital.

In the tense hours that followed that shooting, the armed gangs stood tensely at opposite ends of Rustaveli Prospekt. Local church leaders conducted sporadic negotiations, but with no sign of success. Since Sept. 2, barricades have transformed the broad, tree-lined thoroughfare into a pedestrian mall where clusters of Georgians meet to discuss a single subject: the danger of war. Outside the faded, prerevolutionary Tbilisi Hotel, a man in a dark-blue sports shirt stopped briefly last week to console a grieving woman acquaintance. "Did you know any of the government soldiers who were killed?" he asked her. She answered that she was crying for all the dead. He nodded, readjusting the hunting rifle on his shoulder, then striding on to his post, defending Gamsakhurdia against Georgians who have made another choice.

MALCOLM GRAY *in Tbilisi*

LIFE AMONG THE REBEL FIGHTERS

The sound of a truck backfiring caused trigger fingers to tighten near a former Communist Youth camp outside Tbilisi last week. The most recent occupants of that site, on a windswept hillside about 10 km from the Georgian capital, were tired men with a tendency to respond nervously to loud, unexpected noises. Behind a makeshift roadblock anchored by two Soviet-made Kamaz trucks were some of the 1,500 rebel members of the Georgian national guard, the armed corps of opposition resistance to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. As he alternately fulfilled his obligations to local traditions of hospitality and to his military duties—offering a chair to a visitor, then waving a car filled with armed sympathizers through the checkpoint—an officer explained the special need for alertness in a land sliding into civil war. Said 41-year-old Johny Mokhevishvili: "We are all Georgians, and the soldiers who are loyal to Gamsakhurdia wear the same uniforms as we do."

For Mokhevishvili, his current posting is also the most troublesome in a 23-year military career that has taken him to such far-flung outposts as the Soviet-held Kurile Islands in the northern Pacific and the Baikonur space centre in Kazakhstan. But eight months ago, Mokhevishvili resigned his Soviet Army commission as a senior captain to become the commander of a 1,000-man battalion in the fledgling Georgian national guard. Now, he and a significant number of other guardsmen have turned against Gamsakhurdia. According to Mokhevishvili, they did so for reasons that range from Gamsakhurdia's initial support of the right-wing coup attempt against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in August to a fight on Sept. 2 in Tbilisi during which Georgian government troops fired on an opposition rally and wounded several unarmed demonstrators near the state legislature.

Mokhevishvili, a stocky man wearing a red beret that was pushed well back from his tanned, lined face, dryly noted that he and his men did not plan to suffer a similar fate. And certainly, the battalion commander seemed adequately prepared: he had a large combat knife and pistol strapped to his legs and three automatic-rifle magazines, each containing 32 cartridges, in the belt that encircled his sand-colored fatigues. Another three banana-shaped clips, tightly bound together with straps of blue and yellow tape, were attached to the Kalashnikov rifle slung over his shoulder. Mokhevishvili stressed that the rebels would not lay down their arms until Gamsakhurdia either resigned or agreed to their demands for democratic reforms. Then, he assessed his future if the opposition failed to attain that goal. Said Mokhevishvili: "If we do not succeed, we will all likely be in jail—or dead."

M. G.

THE UNITED STATES

Echoes of the KKK

David Duke plays on race in Louisiana

In the red-brick B&B's Package Liquor Store in Shreveport, the battle for the Louisiana governorship has already been won. The words "Colored only entrance" remain etched in the glass above the wooden door that once led to a partitioned bar for blacks. And the unpainted beam that held the lattice divider until 1988—more than two decades after official desegregation—still spans the ceiling. Over games of dominoes and swigs of Old Charter Bourbon last week, the all-white patrons pledged their support for David Duke, a state legislator and former grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who is now running for governor. Chewing and spitting New Work Horse tobacco, B&B's ruddy-faced owner who, along with his patrons, asked to remain anonymous, declared: "The blacks go out and get pregnant, have five or six kids, get welfare and the father's laying up in bed not doing anything—that's what's tearing Louisiana apart." A gaunt customer in a plaid shirt said: "The damn niggers take dope, steal, shoot and kill each other." Added a rough-hewn marble-layer: "The average man is tired of paying for the welfare people. David Duke is right—make them work for what they want."

The 41-year-old Duke has become the wild card in an election that could prove to be the strongest test of racial issues in American politics this year. Underscoring the importance of the vote, President George Bush scheduled a swing through Louisiana this week to campaign for the incumbent, 48-year-old Charles (Buddy) Roemer, a former Democrat who converted to the Republican party last spring. Former governor Edwin Edwards, a 64-year-old self-styled Cajun (local pronunciation for the Acadians who came from Atlantic Canada in the late 1700s), is the Democratic favorite to win the all-party primary on Oct. 19. But if no one wins a clear majority, the top two candidates face a runoff on Nov. 16 to decide the governorship. A poll released last week by the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* newspaper showed Roemer with 26 per cent of the vote, Edwards with 25 per cent and Duke with 10 per cent. But in the past, polls have underestimated Duke's support. And Edward Renwick, the director of the nonpartisan Institute of Politics at Loyola University in New Orleans, said that "Duke has a definite shot at the runoff—he is in a dead heat with Edwards."

Pollsters say that many white voters refuse to express support for Duke except in the privacy of the voting booth. Last year, after a long and bruising campaign to unseat Louisiana's Democratic Senator Bennett Johnston, Duke came second with 44 per cent of the vote—despite his opponent's television commercials that showed Duke giving a Nazi salute and shouting "White victory!" at a Ku Klux Klan cross burning. Only days before that election, pollsters predicted that Duke would win just 20 to 30 per cent of the vote. Instead, he captured 60 per cent of the white vote and 25 of the 64 Louisiana parishes, as the state's political constituencies are called. And his support came not only from his bedrock power base among poor and working-class whites, but from middle-class educated voters. "He is no longer the kook in a Klan costume," said Leonard Zeskind, research director for the Center for Democratic Renewal, which opposes hate groups. "He has managed to place himself squarely in the mainstream of Louisiana politics."

Politics in the state have long been colorful, and charismatic Louisiana's most famous politician was governor—and eventually senator—Huey Long, a populist demagogue known as the Kingfish who built hospitals and roads, challenged the big oil companies, ran a corruption-riddled administration—and was assassinated in 1935. Compared with Long, Duke is a minor figure, but he has elicited powerful emotions. That was evident last week at a campaign rally in Springhill, 80 km northeast of Shreveport along a pitted, two-lane highway plied by 18-wheeler lumber trucks. The sweet smell of molasses in the cattle feed wafted from nearby farms as vehicles wound along the road through Cotton Valley on a warm fall evening.



REMAN/SIPA

Duke on the stump: suave and articulate, he preaches racist politics dressed up for the 1990s

Inside Springhill's drab, hexagonal civic centre, Duke supporters wearing blue, his campaign color, did a brisk trade selling $5 "Duke for governor" baseball caps and "Equal rights! David Duke for all" lapel pins. "I just shook hands with the Duke," said a breathless Benjamin Matlock. His face animated with anger at a reporter's question about racism, the International Paper Co. millwright declared: "I was brought up to call a black man a nigger. Now, we call them a minority. Well, blacks are not a minority—the white man is a minority. The white man has no rights anymore, and it's time it changed."

A hearty round of applause from the all-white crowd of 350 supporters greeted the candidate as he strode to a podium festooned with blue and white bunting. Duke, who has stated that he would brandish the swastika anytime if it would help "to preserve the white race," has exchanged his white KKK bed-sheet robes and hood for the blue suit and clubby marble-patterned tie of mainstream America. Instead of a moustache and hairstyling reminiscent of Hitler, he is now clean shaven, with the

look of a blow-dried TV anchorman. Cosmetic surgery has strengthened a weak chin, straightened his nose and smoothed telltale wrinkles into what Duke himself once called "the beau ideal of Aryan manhood." Last week, he told *Maclean's* that the face-lift was only skin deep. "It's not a total transformation," he said. "Fundamentally, I believe in many of the things I have always believed in."

Suave, telegenic and articulate, Duke preaches racist politics dressed up for the 1990s. He has toned down his inflammatory rhetoric and dismissed his 12-year membership in the KKK as a youthful prank. "I was too intolerant," he told *Maclean's*. Still, although he spoke in a calm, measured voice at his Springhill rally last week, Duke's message was blunt. America's problems, from drugs and crime to inadequate education, stem from what he called the "underclass" of society and the rise of the welfare state. Declared Duke: "We have a welfare system that says we'll pay people who don't work, people who take drugs, people who have all the illegitimate kids. Well," he added, as a low chant of "Duke, Duke, Duke" engulfed the audience, "we need a change."



Matlock (centre) at Duke rally in the race for governor: 'The white man has no rights anymore'

Unabashedly exploiting white fears and resentments of blacks, Duke unveiled his master plan: an end to forced integration, abolition of welfare for what he called the "lazy people who don't want to work"; and mandatory birth-control counselling and drug testing for welfare mothers and other "white and black trash." Declared Duke: "It's time to reform the welfare system. I believe in equal rights for everyone—even for white people."

Duke came by his racial politics early in life. Raised mainly by his alcoholic mother—his father was rarely home—the 16-year-old Duke found a surrogate father in 1966 in a prominent New Orleans real estate agent, a member of the American Nazi party who introduced Duke to the Klan. As a member of the KKK at Louisiana State University, where he received his BA in history in 1974, he became an ardent admirer of Adolf Hitler, and by 1975, he had risen to grand wizard of the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. But he found time for other pursuits as well. In 1978, he wrote a sex manual called *Finders Keepers* that instructed women, among other things, on vaginal muscle exercises. In 1973, Duke also published *African Atto*, a 70-page mail-order manual designed to teach blacks street-fighting techniques, under the pseudonym Muhammed X. He later denied publishing it, then claimed that the manual was satire, then maintained that he had published it in order to obtain a mailing list of America's most militant black leaders.

By the 1980s, according to the Democratic Renewal's Zeskind, Duke began looking for new ways to introduce neo-Nazi politics into the United States. "David Duke was clever enough early enough," Zeskind said, "to understand that white robes and burning crosses in cow pastures were effective in the 1960s in stopping civil rights, but are not effective now." Duke quit the Klan in 1980, and founded the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

In 1988, as presidential candidate for the ultraright-wing Populist party, Duke refined his message, developed a national contributor base and targeted issues for a wider audience. His technique, Zeskind said, was to say what many Americans only say in the privacy of their homes, mining the deep racial fissures in American politics. Added Zeskind: "He made himself the everyday spokesman for the behind-the-closed-doors racism that exists in white America."

Elected to the state legislature in 1989 from the largely white, middle-class New Orleans suburb of Metairie, Duke has struck a responsive chord. But he has also struck fear into a Republican party that has struggled to broaden its support among blacks. "The dilemma of the Republican party," said Elizabeth Rickey, a Duke opponent and a member of Louisiana's Republican State Central Committee, "is that for 25 years, we have courted the racist vote to attract white voters." And Rickey accused Bush and other Republicans of fanning racial tensions with their repeated attacks on affirmative-action programs, despite convincing evidence that blacks continue to face discrimination. Added Rickey: "It's dangerous to play with racial issues—it's demagoguery at its worst."

At the very least, Duke has polarized and politicized the state and drawn a line in the Louisiana mud. In Ruggold, a quiet town of 1,655 people 50 km southeast of Shreveport, Duke's words have not taken root. Leaning back against a vivid mural depicting hefty firefighters and their polished red truck, black fire chief Alvoyd Glover denounced Duke's white-supremacist utterings as scare tactics. "If he had the power or the control," said Glover, "he'd put blacks back in slavery." Down a gravel road, at the Bestway Food store, manager Mack Walker said that "being black, it's kind of hard to overlook his relationship with the Klan."

Outside town, Frederick Ford threaded a red worm onto his fishing hook, then cast into the murky brown waters of Lake Bistineau, which was filled with cypress trees draped in Spanish moss. He said angrily, "I'd throw my vote on the road before I'd give it to David Duke." Reeling in a bluegill bream in the scorching afternoon sun, Ford, an unemployed welder, scorned Duke's so-called conversion from his long-held white-supremacist views. "Can you turn a tomato into a cucumber?" asked Ford. "Can you make a cat bark? He was born a cat and he is a cat. Why would I want to let him kill my race?" But unlike the robe and hood that Duke said he kept packed in a box "with my other mementoes and treasures of the past," Duke himself may be not be so easily thrown into a dark corner of American politics.

HILARY MACKENZIE *in Shreveport*



Don't Kill A Caesar With Ordinary Vodka.

SMIRNOFF

Nothing Else Is Quite Smirnoff.

GUNS OF AUTUMN





Serbian forces (left); Croatian father and child in Zagreb: mutual suspicion that boils over at the slightest excuse

NEIGHBORS ARE KILLING NEIGHBORS IN YUGOSLAVIA'S VICIOUS ETHNIC CONFLICT

Kata Jagic had plenty of company last week. A stooped Croatian woman of 74, she bustled about the courtyard of her ramshackle wooden house serving tiny cups of strong coffee to the strange new guests lounging outside. They were members of Croatia's national guard, a dozen tense young men cradling Kalashnikov assault rifles, who had taken over Jagić's house because Yugoslavia's civil war had suddenly moved to her doorstep. Only 200 m down the road was a bridge over the Kupa river, the new front line formed between Croatian militiamen and the Serbian forces arrayed against them. Jagić's house had already been caught in the cross fire, mortar fragments pockmarked the outside walls, and a stray bullet through the kitchen window had lodged in the refrigerator door. She pointed out the battle scars with the eagerness of someone suddenly thrust into the glare of attention, but despite a lull last week in the fighting that has raged through Croatia since June, her message was more sombre. "I am afraid we have gone beyond the point of no return," she said. "How can we live together now?"

The civil war, which involves hundreds of Canadian volunteers, began after Croatia declared independence in June and its Serbian minority rebelled. A new ceasefire last week succeeded in at least keeping the bloodshed to a minimum, and diplomats expressed some hope that European Community-organized peace talks might make progress. That optimism was fuelled by signs that a more equal balance of power had been established in the war. After weeks of helping Serbian guerrillas force the ill-equipped Croatian militia to give up more and more territory, Yugoslavia's federal army appeared to falter. It abandoned some bases in eastern Croatia and left tons of weapons behind. Serbian newspapers reported that the army was reeling because of disorganization at the top and desertions among reserve troops. A leading Belgrade paper, *Borba* (Struggle), spoke of "a complete lack of confidence in the officer corps and a feeling among reservists that this is not their war."

Success: Those reports and the relative success of the new ceasefire calmed concerns that the army might be preparing an all-out offensive against Croatia and its capital, Zagreb. But even if the Yugoslavs avoid a full-scale military conflict, there were no signs that they could achieve anything approaching a real peace. Weeks of bitter bloodletting have created a climate of hatred that has its own inexorable momentum. Villages, towns and political parties have armed themselves, creating a poisonous network of rival militias. Even the most optimistic analysts in Croatia acknowledge that if the republic eventually wins its fight for independence, it could still face years of guerrilla warfare with Serbian rebels—a persistent Middle East-style destabilization that only recently seemed unthinkable in Central Europe.

NIKA DONCIC/SABA

That situation was evident last week in and around the scraggly village of Brest, where Jagić lives. Brest is only half a mile from the larger town of Petrinja, just across the swift-flowing Kupa river that irrigates the rich corn fields of central Croatia. In normal times, the Kupa is a playground for urbanites from Zagreb, 56 km to the north, who have built summer homes along its banks. Now, Serbian guerrillas and the Yugoslav army have seized control of Petrinja and pushed the young Croatian militiamen across the river to Brest—in an uneasy standoff that has created intense bitterness. Thousands of Croats have fled their bombed-out homes in Petrinja; now, they cannot return, and they trade unverifiable rumors that Serbs are looting their abandoned houses and businesses.

On the side of the main road to Zagreb last week, 75 Croatian men from Petrinja were lining up in the sunshine to join what they called a "defence battalion" for their town. A motley collection of farmers and tradesmen, they appeared more intent on attack than defence, and were eager to get their hands on the rifles and grenades promised to them by the battalion's organizers. Kata Jagić's 47-year-old son, Dragutin, who owns three houses in Petrinja, was among them. Like dozens of others, he described how he had grown up with Serbian friends and neighbors and still could not believe that he might have to fight them to win back his home. "You work alongside them, you get drunk with them, and now this," he said. "I don't think anyone has really accepted what it means." Still, he said, he was ready to kill if necessary. He added: "You can't lie down and lose everything you've built up."

Wounds: The personal, emotional wounds run deep even for many whose own families and property are so far unscathed. Vladan Svacov, a professor of drama at the University of Zagreb, has owned a small summer house in Brest for more than 20 years. Last week, he checked it for damage. There was none, but the 16th-century village church, St. Barbara's, had been shattered by a mortar round through the roof. Svacov, 60, could not contain his emotion. "Both my sons were baptized here," he whispered in a husky voice, before turning quickly away. Later, he recalled that his daughter, Branka, used to play as a child in the Kupa river. Now 30, she was back on the river last week with a boat ready to take Croatian militiamen across to safety if they suddenly had to abandon vulnerable positions on the other side. A friend had given her a gun for protection, said Svacov—a 9-mm Beretta pistol.

HORVAT/SABA

The new bitterness feeds on a history of mutual suspicion that boils over at the slightest excuse. Most Croats speak of living peacefully for decades alongside Serbs, who comprise about 13 per cent of Croatia's 4.6-million population. But at the same time, even such sophisticated urban intellectuals as Vladan Svacov are quick to invoke a string of ethnic stereotypes to explain away the conflict. From the Croatians' perspective, Serbs have been conditioned by the Eastern influences of the Orthodox Church and centuries of Turkish occupation, while Catholic Croatia is the natural defender of Western values. "They have the typically Turkish mentality," Svacov burst out. "They don't

ANALYSTS FEAR A PERSISTENT MIDDLE EAST-STYLE DESTABILIZATION

work, just steal from someone else."

In the Communist era, another factor fuelled Croatian resentment. Because of the leading role of Serbs in the Communist partisan campaign against German occupation during the Second World War, they held a disproportionately high share of posts in Communist regime, the party, police and army. As a result, Croatian prejudice against Serbs is enmeshed with their powerful anti-Communist feelings.

Serbs have their own stereotypes of Croats and their own list of grievances. They vividly remember the murderous record of Adolf Hitler's puppet government in Croatia between 1941 and 1945, which formed a separate Croatian state. Led by the fascist Ustasha (literally, "rising up") movement, the wartime regime killed hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Jews. In turn, Serbian resistance fighters, known as Chetniks, killed tens of thousands of Croats.

Clumsy: While mustering support for independence, Croatia's new government, led by President Franjo Tudjman, clumsily adopted nationalist rhetoric and symbols that aroused intense fears among the republic's Serbian minority. Chief among them is Croatia's new flag, which features the red-and-white checkered shield also brandished by the Ustasha regime. And, say moderate Serbs in Croatia, the government did not offer strong enough guarantees of Serbian rights in an independent Croatia.

As a result, when Croatia declared independence on June 25, Serbs in ethnically mixed areas organized paramilitary forces and fought to establish control over areas with large Serbian populations. Serbia's nationalist president, Slobodan Milošević, swiftly labelled the new Croatian government as "fascist" and gave his support to the rebels. The federal army, most of whose senior officers are Serbs, effectively backed them as well, seizing control of about a third of Croatia's territory. And once the fighting began, it quickly turned vicious, with each side claiming that the other was committing atrocities. News media on both sides have prominently reported unverified stories of mutilations and massacres (page 48).

The result is a cycle of paranoia, rumor and violence that shows no signs of ending. Perhaps most worrying is the flood of arms into Croatia that may keep the conflict boiling even if the politicians eventually manage to work out a settlement. While towns and villages arm themselves, political groups also are stocking weapons. The extremist Croatian Party of Rights, for one, has organized and armed its own paramilitary force with distinctive red berets and shoulder badges.

Its leaders claim to have 10,000 men under arms, although the actual number is almost certainly closer to 1,000. The party has branches among Croatian expatriates, and its leaders acknowledge collecting money for guns among its Canadian members. "We have machine guns, anti-aircraft rockets, anti-tank weapons, you name it," boasted Milan Vuković, a 35-year-old Canadian citizen who is the chief aide to Dobrislav Paraga, the party's 30-year-old leader. Added Vuković, "The government has failed to defend Croatia, so people are taking it into their own hands."

Conflict: Vuković is just one of many Croatian-Canadians involved in the republic's conflict with Belgrade. They include the defence minister, Gojko Susak, who left behind an interior design business in Ottawa to go to Croatia, as well as hundreds of others who have returned to do everything from joining the Croatian national guard to helping journalists cover the conflict. Vuković himself spent 12 years in Toronto, attending the Royal Conservatory of Music and the University of Toronto, before moving to Los Angeles to compose advertising jingles.

He travelled to Zagreb in June to work with Paraga's party, and he says that Canadian supporters regularly send money to buy weapons. "They are on the phone to their relatives in Croatia, who say there are tanks outside their houses," he said inside the party's heavily guarded headquarters in Zagreb. "So they call us and say they want those villages defended. That means collecting money to buy weapons and training people to use them."

The Party of Rights' influence is still small. But the presence of its militiamen on the streets of Zagreb, together with regular na-



DELAHAYE/SIPA

Heavy shelling lights up the skies of Osijek in eastern Croatia: when fighting began, it quickly turned vicious

THE ALL NEW 1992 TOYOTA CAMRY. IT WILL CHANGE THE ROAD FOREVER.

Introducing a car that will change the way you drive.
A car that will command the road, and the attention of every driver on it.
An exceptionally powerful, responsive car.
A car with a standard driver's side airbag supplemental restraint system (SRS), and available superb A.B.S. (Anti-Lock Braking System), just two of many sophisticated safety features.
A car so incredibly spacious—thanks to over 8 cubic feet of additional interior room—that it will seat five adults in perfect comfort.
A car so distinguished and so advanced, all others in its class will be judged against it.
Introducing the all new 1992 Toyota Camry.
Test drive one today. Experience for yourself just how it will change the road forever.

TOYOTA
Official Sponsor of Canada's Olympic Teams.
® Official Mark © Canadian Olympic Association 1967



tional guardsmen and black-suited volunteers of another irregular group, the so-called Black Legion, gives the city an air of Beirut crossed with gangland-era Chicago. Paraga does not flinch from the comparison. Asked if arming his own party members might not accelerate Lebanese-style chaos in Croatia, he replied: "We already have Lebanon here—and it will be even more terrible and bloody."

Death: That opinion was reinforced on the night of Sept. 21, when a policeman machine-gunned party Vice-President Ante Paradžik to death at a roadblock in Zagreb. Government spokesmen say that his car ran the roadblock; party officials say that the government assassinated their vice-president because they oppose the way in which Tudjman is conducting the war with Belgrade. In the backseat was another Croatian-Canadian, Ivan Orsanić, 52, of Mississauga, Ont. Orsanić, head of the party's Toronto branch, travelled to Croatia to deliver $2 million worth of food and clothing for refugees, but he denied collecting money for guns.



A special-force unit of the Croatian police: rival militias

In that supercharged atmosphere, discussions of moderation and compromise seem almost futile. But there are voices calling for a reconciliation between the warring communities. Milorad Pupovac, a 36-year-old professor of linguistics at the University of Zagreb, is a leader of the Serbian Democratic Forum, a group attempting to bridge the gap. Most Serbs in Croatia, he points out, do not live in areas that could be sliced away from the republic, as advocated by Serbian militants. Instead, they live in large towns and cities like Zagreb. "No type of territorial separation is possible," said Pupovac. "We live side by side on the same street in the same buildings. So there must be an overall political settlement that guarantees rights to Serbs."

Pupovac criticizes Croatia's government for brushing aside minority rights in its drive for independence. But he puts most of the blame for the outbreak of violence firmly on the side of the Serbian leader, Milošević. By whipping up Serbian nationalism, Pupovac said, and by pressing for a so-called greater Serbia that would include predominantly Serbian areas of other Yugoslav republics, Milošević bears the main responsibility for unleashing the forces of ethnic hatred that are tearing the country apart. And most vulnerable, the professor added, are the Serbs of Croatia. "Milošević is no friend of ours," he said.

But even Pupovac acknowledged that it is almost impossible to discuss political solutions with a war still raging. He said that police have threatened and harassed him and other Serbian leaders in Croatia even though they deny any connection with the guerrillas fighting in the so-called disputed areas. Thousands of other Serbs in Zagreb, who number about 100,000 of the city's 850,000 people, have left the capital, fearing a violent backlash against them. "Things have gone too far now," said Pupovac. "We have to hope that feelings cool and we can return to rationality."

But that will take time, and there is little available to reach a solution that would prevent even more bloodshed. Last week, with the latest ceasefire in place, representatives of all Yugoslavia's disputing parties agreed at an EC-sponsored conference in The Hague to study long-term solutions to relations among the country's republics and the rights of ethnic minorities. But those discussions could be abandoned as early as Oct. 7, the expiration date of a three-month moratorium on declarations of independence by Croatia and another breakaway republic, Slovenia. If either republic decides to re-invoke its declaration and walk away from the talks, it could well provide the spark that reignites the conflict.

ANDREW PHILLIPS *in Brest*

THE REFUGEES' ANGUISH AND FEAR

When the baby started screaming, her mother, Zorka Novaković, looked up sharply, an expression of despair and exhaustion on her face. "I'm sick and tired of this," she said, hurrying over to feed two-week-old Jovana in the tiny room with a single bed that they share with her two other young children. "I don't care what happens—we've got to go home." That is unlikely to happen in the near future. The Novakovićs and the other women and children of Brsadin, a predominantly Serbian village in eastern Croatia, boarded a convoy of federal military vehicles in June, shortly after they came under mortar attack from Croatian forces. When they arrived in Sid in neighboring Serbia, host families took them into their homes. But the welcome is beginning to wear thin. And Novaković, 30, and the other refugees say that they wonder when, if ever, they will return to their homes—or if their husbands and fathers, most of whom stayed behind, will survive the fighting.

The Novakovićs are among 36,000 registered Serbian refugees—and tens of thousands of others who have not registered—who fled from the fighting in Croatia. A similar number of Croats have also left their homes, most of them seeking safe haven in abandoned tourist resorts on the Adriatic coast. And an estimated 10,000 ethnic Hungarians have escaped north to Hungary. In Sid, the initial response to the fugitives was overwhelming. "Offers to put up refugees have poured in," said Slavica Nadić, who runs the Red Cross operation there. But the small town of 36,000 has already taken in 2,505 refugees. And Nadić conceded that their extended stay may start to cause problems. Declared Nadić: "There are money worries with winter approaching and the need for heating."

As the children raced around her, Novaković's sister-in-law, Jovanka, who is staying in the same three-room house, said that she knows that they are wearing down the nerves and the health of the widow who owns the house. "We have no future here," she said. "Perhaps we have no future at all." The refrain "Iz dana u dan" (from day to day) is echoed frequently. And many of the refugees say that they lie awake at night worrying about their husbands back in Brsadin.

Meanwhile, exile has only deepened the divisions between Serbs and Croats. The Serbs in Sid say that before the troubles began, the two groups lived peacefully side by side. Now, they sit around at night repeating stories, and sometimes embroidered rumors, about the war. They talk about young men who have had their throats cut, about murdered babies, about massacres. They say that life will never be the same. That, perhaps, is the one thing on which both sides agree.

LOUISE BRANSON *in Sid*



SAVE $15
1/4" ROUTER
Model 3606
- Powerful 7.0 amp motor produces 30,000 RPM.
- Ring control for calibrated depth adjustment.
- Shaft lock for easy bit changes.
- Contoured handles.

Makita
POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Buy either or both of these quality Makita power tools and receive the full manufacturer's rebate. Details at participating Makita dealers. Offer valid through December 31st, 1991. Hurry!

SAVE $10
JIG SAW
Model 4320
- Roller supported blade reduces vibration
- Variable speed for smooth initial cutting action with 0-3200 strokes per minute.
- Speed control screw lets you "lock" into the desired speed.



BRUTAL RUMORS

PROPAGANDA FUELS ETHNIC FEARS

Croats tell a story about Serbian militants who cracked open the skull of a Croatian guardsman they had taken prisoner. Afterwards, they claim, the Serbians scooped his brains out with a bayonet and forced another captured guardsman to eat them. When he choked, the Croats maintain, the Serbs shot him in the head. In Serbia, similar macabre tales were making the rounds. At a Belgrade dinner party last week, one guest declared: "The Croats are now getting weapons by selling the organs of our soldiers to the Germans." Claimed another: "Croat soldiers are playing football with the skulls of Serbian babies. My son said he saw it on TV."

Truth is the first casualty in any war, and the fighting between Serbia and Croatia is no exception. The leaders of the two battling republics, Serbia's President Slobodan Milošević and Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman, are both former Communists well versed in propaganda methods, and they have a stranglehold on their respective media. They are using them to create a deep and inescapable war psychosis in the beleaguered Balkan country of 24 million people. On both sides, citizens tune in day and night to radio and television programs that frequently disseminate blatant lies. And few listeners seem to question what they hear. On Serbian TV recently, viewers saw graphic scenes of what an announcer described as a massacre of Serbian villagers by Croatian guardsmen. The same footage was shown earlier on Croatian television—but there, a broadcaster claimed that it was a Serbian massacre of Croats.



A civilian victim of fighting in Petrinja, Croatia: macabre tales

As Serbian militants, supported by the federal army, move deeper into Croatian territory, radio and television relay stations have been among their first targets. The Serbs have taken Croatian programs off the air and replaced them with transmissions from Belgrade. They have also set up booster stations in their strongholds in Croatia to receive the newly established satellite service of Belgrade television. When the mayor of the eastern Croatian town of Osijek recently complained to federal authorities about the situation, they told him that they were powerless to do anything.

To ensure that Serbian propaganda is effective, Milosevic has purged liberal-leaning editors and executives of Belgrade radio and television. News broadcasts now paint Serbian nationalists and the federal army as victims of brutal Croatian aggression. The 600,000-strong Serbian minority in Croatia should have the right to self-determination, according to the Serbian media. The federal army is only acting in a peacekeeping role, commentators add. In protest, outraged liberal journalists now stage what they call an alternative news program each evening in Belgrade's Terazie Square. But their show, which is not broadcast, draws only a few hundred passers-by.

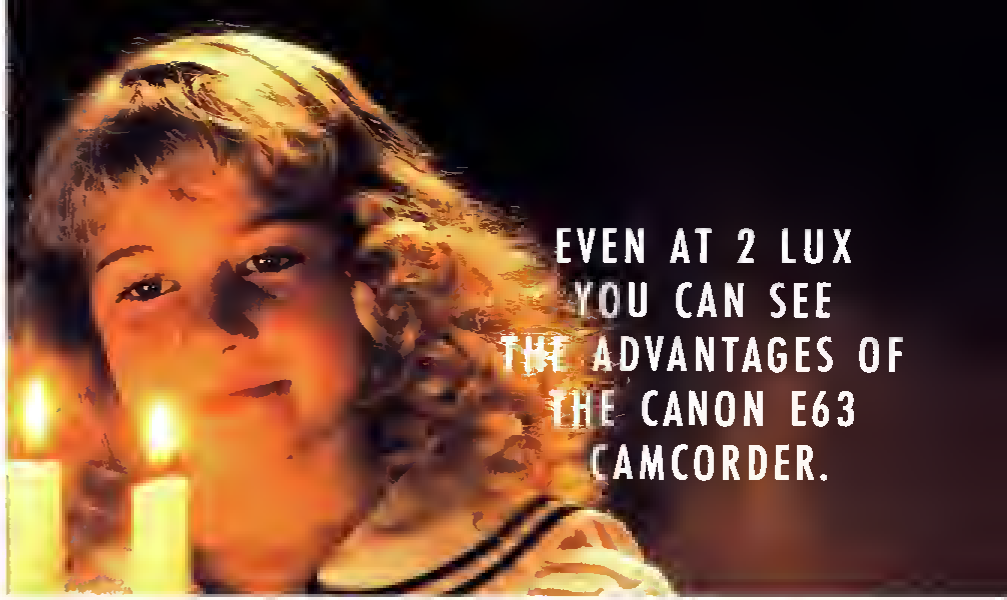
In Croatia, the media have a more reasonable, factual tone—but their accounts are also one-sided. Zagreb radio and television reporters barrage their audiences with details of Serbian aggression. They also use Croatian officials to publicly corroborate stories of atrocities by Serbs, a tactic that has proved effective in winning the support of the outside world at the expense of Serbia.

Because the fighting is on the Croats' own territory, they seem more susceptible to war hysteria. Last week, Zagreb radio warned them to report any suspicious activity. "There are snipers on the floors of buildings," claimed the announcer. "That building could be yours, and you must report it to the police. That is what responsible citizens do in Western countries, that is what is meant by democracy."

Worried: Such tactics have proved very effective. In Belgrade a Croatian woman who recently phoned her sister in the Croatian port city of Split said that her relative was worried. News reports, the sister said, warned residents to expect attacks from Serbian militants who would kill even women and children. Rather than believe that the reports were exaggerated, the Belgrade woman said that her sister contended: "They are not telling us even one-sixth of the truth. If they told us the real truth, I don't know what we would do."

Amid all the partisan reporting, one new Belgrade magazine has managed to maintain some objectivity. *Vreme* (the Times) published a list of words most frequently used by the Belgrade and Zagreb media to describe the war between the republics. Serbian journalists favored such terms as "defending our hearth," "liberation" and "volunteer units." Croatian reporters talked of "victims," "war crimes" and "terrorists." In the battle for hearts and minds, the airwaves are filled with rumors, half-truths and outright lies—propaganda that is increasing distrust and prolonging Yugoslavia's agony.

LOUISE BRANSON *in Belgrade*



So if all you had to illuminate your subject was 2 candles, you'd still get the superb picture quality you expect from Canon with the new E63 Camcorder. You'll find a wide array of standard Canon features such as sports finder, the unique Canon FlexiGrip*, record search and review, an 8x zoom lens, 25 zone Auto White Balance plus many more including the wireless remote controller. With the Canon E63 Camcorder you get the convenience you want, and all the features you need, at a surprisingly affordable price. Call your nearest Canon dealer today and ask about the E63 Camcorder.

Just one more bright idea from Canon.



Canon

CANON CANADA INC
6390 DIXIE ROAD, MISSISSAUGA, ONTARIO L5T 1P7 (416) 795-1111

*FlexiGrip and Canon are registered trademarks of Canon Canada Inc.

Recently we took 100 grateful business travellers absolutely nowhere.



The most demanding travellers are business people. And in recent frequent flyer polls, one Business Class was rated a class above the rest.

Qantas.

With a Business Class chair designed not just by ergonomic engineers, but by business travellers.

A chair that when reclined, actually lengthens to ensure an even distribution of your weight, so when you're ready to sleep, all your body rests comfortably.

From head to toe. From departure to destination.

Which is why millions of business travellers all over the world are grateful for flying Qantas.

QANTAS
THE SPIRIT OF AUSTRALIA

W E G O F U R T H E R

In the U.S. call 1-800-445-2360. In Vancouver 684-8231. In British Columbia and Alberta 1-800-663-3411. The remainder of Canada 1-800-663-3423. In addition to offering our own Frequent ... Qantas is a partner in American Airlines' AAdvantage® and Canadian Airlines' Canadian Plus programs. American Airlines reserves the right to change the AAdvantage program without notice.



PETE MCGO/MACLEAN'S

Stronach in his Aurora, Ont., parts plant: 'I had to hold a lot of hands. I didn't want anyone to start shooting'

BUSINESS

DEFYING THE ODDS

Frank Stronach, chairman of Magna International Inc., says that two years of tough economic times have changed him. In the mid-1980s, the rapidly expanding Markham, Ont.-based auto-parts maker was a role model for other Canadian manufacturers and the darling of the stock market. But that was before Magna's huge debts began to weigh on the company. Stronach stretched back in a boardroom chair last week, gazed through a window at the green hills of an industrial park 30 km north of Toronto and reflected on the lessons he has learned. Gone was the cockiness of the previous decade, when Stronach enjoyed scribbling diagrams of his vision of the ideal economic system and then autographing them for admirers. Now, the 59-year-old entrepreneur is quieter and humbler. But he is also more relaxed, because he has pulled Magna back from the brink of financial collapse. Last week, the company reported a modest $16.5-million profit for the year that ended July 31. And on Aug. 27, Magna fulfilled the final condition of a debt-restructuring agreement. As a result, the firm's bankers are no longer scrutinizing the company as closely. Said Stronach: "You have no idea what a relief that is. It was like swimming with a concrete block tied to your ankle."

FRANK STRONACH HAS PULLED HIS DEBT-RIDDEN AUTO-PARTS MAKER FROM THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE

But the fight for survival has changed both Stronach and Magna dramatically. During the 1980s, they epitomized the wealth and verve of southern Ontario's booming economy. Stronach, a former tool-and-die maker who emigrated to Canada from Austria in 1954, was the country's highest-paid executive in 1987, earning $2.2 million in salary and bonuses. Wealthy from his success, he also became increasingly preoccupied by non-automotive pursuits, including horse racing and politics. In the 1988 federal election, he ran as a Liberal candidate in York/Simcoe, where a little-known Conservative candidate soundly defeated him. Meanwhile, Magna executives, who had been rapidly broadening the types of auto parts the company could produce, built a prototype automobile—a flashy high-performance sports car with buffalo-hide upholstery.

Now, Stronach says that he has abandoned those ambitions. In order to slash expenses he has discontinued several of his money-losing pet projects, including two glossy magazines that he launched. As well, he has closed the North Toronto restaurant that he named after his daughter, Belinda, and sold Magna's corporate jet for $12.5 million. He has also sharply reduced Magna's automotive operations, selling one major division, MACI, which makes electric motors, and limiting the number of factories that Magna operates to 75, down from 111 in 1989. In addition, Stronach has fired 300 managers and administrative staff. Those austerity measures have helped to reduce the company's long-term debt to $700 million from $1.12 billion a year ago.

In the 1990s, Stronach says that Magna will strive for debt reduction and modest growth, rather than the rampant expansion of the mid-1980s. He added: "It used to be that if one of our customers had a problem, we would go out there and build a new plant in a month to fix it." Stronach said that in the future, Magna will be more selective about the projects it undertakes. Declared Fred Schilling, a Montreal automotive analyst employed by Toronto-based brokerage Nesbitt Thomson Inc.: "Magna is a company in harmony with the environment of the times."

Investors are already betting that Stronach's austerity program will succeed. Magna's share price soared to $15.12 at the end of trading last week, compared with a dismal $2.75 at the beginning of the year. That is still far below the stock's all-time high of $36.50 in 1986. But analysts say that the price could climb higher in the coming months as a strengthening economy increases demand for cars and trucks. As auto sales grow, they say, Magna's profits will also increase. Some analysts, however, caution that Magna might issue new stock to raise money to either further relieve its debt or finance new projects. That could reduce the value of existing shares.

For his part, David Copeland, Magna's executive vice-president and chief financial officer, acknowledges that a share issue is possible. Said Copeland: "Any company that has as much debt as we do is going to consider it from time to time."

Despite the challenges still ahead, Stronach is clearly delighted with his success in halting his company's decline. He says that when the company had trouble making payments on some of its debts, the lenders would have fired him immediately if he had not held the majority of the company's voting shares. They could also have demanded that the company sell its most valuable assets as quickly as possible to recover their money. Stronach says that he had to work hard to calm their concerns. "There was always the danger that one of them would act irrationally and pull the trigger," said Stronach. "I had to be diplomatic. I had to hold a lot of hands. I didn't want anyone to run to a corner and start shooting."

Copeland says that Stronach's leadership was essential in persuading the lenders to leave the company enough flexibility to avoid selling core assets. Added Copeland: "Frank had the confidence right from the start to say that we would get out of this debt problem. It took a real act of faith." But Stronach himself says that the experience has left him wondering if the cost of his success has been too great. "It doesn't come by itself—you pay a heavy price," he said. "In business, sometimes you start on a merry-go-round and you can't get off because you have commitments."

But Stronach added that his drive to succeed results from his early experiences in Canada during his 20s. He recalled: "When I first came over here, there were a number of occasions when I didn't have a job, when I got hungry. So my first thing was never to go hungry anymore, never to crawl." As a result, he says that for years he worked 18 hours a day, often seven days a week. Declared Stronach: "I felt so sorry for myself sometimes in those days—I was still single—when I worked Sundays and I saw all the girls walking by. I wasn't working for the money so much, but because I made commitments." Indeed, Stronach later married his childhood sweetheart, Frieda Sallmutter, the daughter of an Austrian furniture maker, and the couple went on to raise two children.

Stronach still has commitments. But if the new Magna is going to be less aggressive and, as a result, less interesting to manage than it once was, Stronach will undoubtedly look for new challenges. He may have already found one. Flexing a bicep, he says that his next personal goal is to get back in physical shape. Said Stronach: "I don't see why people can't live to 200 years of age. It is just a question of mind over matter." Stronach's life has been larger than most—maybe it will be longer, too.

BRENDA DALGLISH *in Markham*

Business Notes

BYE-BYE BEATRICE

New York City-based Merrill Lynch Capital Partners bought Beatrice Foods Canada Inc., the country's sixth-largest food company, for $475 million. Beatrice, best known for dairy products, was owned by Toronto-based holding company Onex Corp., which paid $316 million for the food company in 1987. The deal is subject to approval by Investment Canada.

ALGOMA TRIES ONCE MORE

Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd., the struggling giant that is the largest employer in Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., released its latest survival plan. The proposal says that Algoma can stay alive by reducing its 5,900-strong workforce by 1,850 employees, securing continued wage concessions and spending $443 million to upgrade plants. However, the plan, which must be approved by its shareholders and employees, does not say how the company will restructure its $800-million debt.

LAURENTIAN BUYS AGAIN

Laurentian Bank of Canada made its second major purchase in less than four months. The Montreal-based bank, Canada's seventh-largest, with assets of $7 billion, agreed to buy assets that include 47 retail branches valued at $1.2 billion from troubled La Financière coopérants inc., a Montreal-based financial services company, for an undisclosed sum. In June, Laurentian Bank bought 27 branches of Standard Trust Co., which was shut down by federal regulators, for $10 million.

GARDENS GRAB SETTLED

Grocery magnate Steve Stavro emerged the winner in the ownership battle for Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd. following the death of owner Harold Ballard last year. Molson Cos. Ltd. agreed to sell Stavro at least half of its 20-per-cent stake in the Gardens, currently worth about $17 million, by 1994. In a related action, Ballard's son Bill dropped his legal battle against his father's estate, clearing the way for Stavro to exercise options that will give him 50.5 per cent of the Gardens.

A 44-CENT BARGAIN

Toronto-area entrepreneur James Ting will pay only 44 cents for a 32-per-cent controlling stake in Japanese consumer-electronics maker Sansui Electric Co. He purchased the shares from troubled Polly Peck International of London. Polly Peck, a retailer and wholesaler, paid $111 million for its 51-per-cent stake in Sansui last year before going into receivership. As part of the transaction, Ting agreed to inject up to $57 million into Sansui.

Survival of the biggest

Troubled trust companies are joining forces

Bryan Mehlenbacher says that he is determined to stick to what he knows best. Apparently undaunted by a recent wave of mergers—and company failures—in Canada's troubled trust industry, the 51-year-old president of Toronto-based National Trust Co. insists that his firm will remain independent and serve Canadian families through its own growing network of retail branch offices. Mehlenbacher concedes that his strategy for Canada's third-largest trust company is sharply at odds with the widespread posh towards fewer, larger firms in the financial services sector. But the 25-year trust-industry veteran has already weathered two disruptive mergers in his career. He says that he now wants National to grow at its own conservative pace, even if it means sitting on the sidelines as his competitors join forces to brace themselves for proposed federal deregulation of trust companies. "I am very proud that we are so unglamorous but wholesome as a company," Mehlenbacher said. He added: "Making an acquisition may be awfully exciting, but it also means you acquire someone else's problems."

Most of Mehlenbacher's rivals, however, are racing headlong in the opposite direction. Determined to enhance their market share and improve efficiency, they are searching desperately for new partners and other opportunities to expand. Last week, industry executives and analysts were awaiting the announcement of the long-expected sale of Central Guaranty Trust by its embattled controlling shareholder, Central Capital Corp. of Halifax. Although the 1987 merger of Central Trust and Guaranty Trust created the fourth-largest trust company in the industry, a deepening financial crisis at Central Capital has inhibited its subsidiary's ability to grow further and compete effectively. Said Steven Kressler, financial services analyst at the Toronto-based brokerage firm Midland Walwyn Capital Inc.: "You can argue whether or not big is beautiful—but that's definitely the trend."

That trend appears to be gathering momentum. Last week, the Montreal-based Laurentian Bank of Canada purchased the troubled 47-branch La Financiere coopérants inc. for an undisclosed price. In June, Laurentian bought the assets of failed Toronto trust company Standard Trust Co. Ltd., which had 27 retail branches, most of them in the Ontario market.

Ironically, it is the federal government's continuing drive to increase competition in the financial services sector that is reducing choices for consumers. As part of that drive, Gilles Loiselle, minister of state for finance, introduced revisions to the Trust and Loan Companies Act in September, 1990. The proposed revisions, when combined with other financial services reforms enacted over the past five years, will give banks and insurance companies greater freedom to offer services formerly reserved for trust companies alone. But in what is clearly a concerted effort to defend themselves against those new challengers, trust companies are consolidating and expanding. Trust company executives say that by increasing the volume of their business, they hope to spread their costs over a wider base of branches and gather more deposits to fund new operations.

Banks and insurance companies, however, have already begun to invade the trust companies' traditional markets. With corporate and commercial lending still in a slump because of the recession, many banks have aggressively increased their efforts to issue personal loans and mortgages to individuals. Insurance companies, in turn, have already started to purchase trust companies directly. Over the past 18 months, Manufacturers Life Insurance Co. of Toronto, for one, has invested in five trust companies through its subsidiary, ManuLife Financial Holdings. Most recently, it spent $28 million to acquire Cabot Trust Co. of Toronto in May. Sun Life Insurance Co. and Confederation Life Insurance Co., both of Toronto, have also invested in trust company subsidiaries in order to establish a foothold in that business.

But all financial institutions are fighting harder to win over a pool of retail customers that is no longer expanding as quickly as it was in the 1980s. According to Alan Tuchmaier, financial services analyst with the Toronto-based brokerage firm McLean McCarthy, the booming growth in retail banking in the previous decade has slowed considerably, and debt-laden consumers have shifted from borrowing to debt-reduction and savings plans. Tuchmaier says that in response, financial institutions are being forced to develop new products or adapt existing ones to meet the demands of



Central Guaranty Trust headquarters in Halifax: fears about aggressive holding companies

"THIS IS A DRIVER'S CAR, AIMED AT ENTHUSIASTS WHO WANT TO INTERACT WITH THE ROAD IN WAYS THAT GO BEYOND MERELY CASTING A SHADOW ON IT."
CAR AND DRIVER MAY '91.

To power the '92 Vigor Sedan, Acura engineers designed an entirely new engine. A 2.5 litre, all-aluminum, 5 cylinder power plant is longitudinally mounted to provide the ideal 60/40 front-to-rear weight distribution. The Formula 1 inspired double wishbone suspension system provides nimble handling and excellent driver feedback. The Vigor offers exceptional power on the long road and precise, flat cornering on the winding road. And with standard 4 wheel disc anti-lock brakes and driver's air bag, you have a large measure of security on any road. The Vigor Sedan is yet another example of Acura's new world thinking which demands that automobiles be engineered to earn the respect of the driver.

The 1992 Vigor starts at $27,500* For information including the Acura 5-year 100,000 km** warranty, call toll free 1-800-263-2828

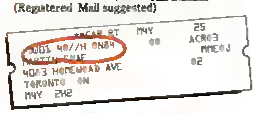
1992 VIGOR
ACURA
PRECISION CRAFTED PERFORMANCE

*MSRP ... Vigor LS with 5-speed manual transmission. Price excluded licence ... GST and PST, where applicable. Dealer may sell for less.
**Whichever ... Secure your future. Remember your seatbelt!

IS YOUR NUMBER HERE?

WE3136//NOR93
TN212071HYA97
CM4134//VER99
AH33///148C92
CA31079431/97

Check the Registered Number on the top line of your address label on the front of this magazine. If it is one of these numbers, clip and mail the Voucher below within 30 days.
(Registered Mail suggested)



Maclean's

$5,000-A-WEEK GIVEAWAY

See rules sent with your Maclean's Card or write to Contest Supervisor at address below

"MACLEAN'S CARD CONTEST"
PRIZE CLAIM VOUCHER

I hereby declare that the Registered Number _____ (Registered Number) **on my address label was published in the** _____ (Cover date) **issue of Maclean's.**

I understand I will be sent a cheque for $1,000.00 if I correctly answer the following question.

MULTIPLY 367 × 49
ADD 15401
DIVIDE BY 24
SUBTRACT 734
ANSWER _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____

Daytime phone _____

Mail to: J. Blackwood, Maclean's Circulation, 777 Bay Street, Suite 800, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7

122-8 10/7/91

an older and more conservative population. He added: "It not only costs money to develop new products, but you need to deliver and support them once you have developed them."

Despite their efforts to maintain customers through improved service and community ties, industry analysts say that small regional trust companies will probably bear the brunt of the brewing storm. Those operations are especially vulnerable to the unpredictable swings of a single industry. And the analysts point to the series of trust company collapses in Alberta following the collapse of the last oil boom in the mid-1980s. When a major employer moves away from an area or closes shop altogether, as many Ontario manufacturing firms have recently done, local trust companies are left holding mortgages for unemployed local residents. That is the daunting challenge now confronting Barrie, Ont.-based Municipal Trust in the wake of General Tire's decision in August to close its operations by last week, laying off 820 employees.

Smaller trust firms also are handicapped by their inability to spend large sums on sophisticated new computer technology. Consumers now expect any financial institution to provide them with access to automated teller machines, daily interest savings accounts and single-statement financial records. Said Midland Walwyn's Kressler: "The little guy will always have trouble keeping up with the developments in technology. A smile and a cup of coffee just isn't enough to keep customers anymore."

Even Canada's largest trust companies have a long way to go to match the service networks of Canada's major chartered banks. Tuchmaier estimates that a minimum of 250 branches is required for a trust company to compete effectively with one of the Big Six banks. While the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce has 1,640 branches in 24 countries, the largest trust company in terms of assets, Royal Trust, has only 137 branches. Fourth-ranked Central Guaranty has 164 retail outlets to provide service to its customers. Both trust companies, however, have installed automated banking machines.

Despite many analysts' dire predictions about the prospects of smaller trust companies in a deregulated market, John Evans, president of the 53-member, Ottawa-based Trust Companies Association of Canada, expresses optimism. Although he concedes that there will be "a major structural change in the industry over the next five years," he maintains that there will always be room for small, specialized firms. Declared Evans: "For Canadian consumers to get good quality financial services, they will need more than just a few mega-players." He added: "The big guys will not bother with highly customized banking in mini-markets, which the small guys specialize in." At the same time, Evans says that small trust companies are banding together to explore new ways to diversify their exposure to small communities. Some small firms, he added, are now considering pooling their mortgage loans with other small trusts, in effect creating stable mutual-fund-type investment instruments for themselves.



PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

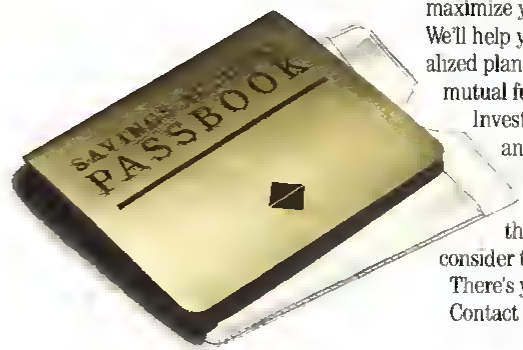
Mehlenbacher: 'unglamorous'

But although the prospect of further deregulation has already caused widespread upheaval in the trust business, Evans said that his association endorses the removal of competitive barriers in the financial services sector. He says that his members have lobbied hard to receive the same freedoms as banks ever since Ottawa began to move towards the removal of the barriers separating banks, trust companies and insurance companies in 1985. Evans now says that he expects Parliament to pass the changes to the Trust and Loan Companies Act before next April 1.

Under existing rules, the office of the superintendent of financial institutions supervises federally chartered trust companies' commercial lending and restricts their investment portfolios to first mortgages, government bonds and blue-chip equities. As a result, trust companies have been forced to focus their lending in the area of real estate.

But over the past year, the collapse of real estate markets in many areas has exacted a heavy toll. Although many trust company executives blame their delinquent loans on legislative restrictions, analysts say that in many cases trusts were too eager to grow during the boom years of the 1980s and paid insufficient attention to the quality of their loans. Said Tuchmaier: "There is growth, excessive growth and reckless growth. Legislative restrictions are not an excuse. All these companies had a certain latitude." By contrast, Mehlenbacher, for one, says that National has trained its staff to explain to customers that

Maybe it's time you stopped investing by the book.



Some of the more traditional investments rarely offer the best return on your money. Or even the flexibility you'd like to have.

Investors Group can help you to increase your financial flexibility and show you how to maximize your rate of return. We'll help you create a personalized plan, which could include mutual funds, Guaranteed Investment Certificates and RRSPs.

When it comes to investing, we believe there's a lot more to consider than the book. There's your entire future. Contact us.

Investors Group

Building futures since 1940

75 • OFFICES • ACROSS • CANADA

Head Office: One Canada Centre, 447 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 3B6



ONE OF OUR FAVOURITE SITTING PLACES is under the sign Jack Daniel and Lem Motlow put up over a century ago.

Jack Daniel settled on this very spot in 1866 and here's where he found ironfree water perfect for his needs. The spring still flows at our distillery today, not ten yards from where these gentlemen are chatting. And we still make Jack Daniel's Tennessee whiskey the way Jack and Lem once made it, drop by drop. After a sip, we believe you'll appreciate our traditional ways.



JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY

If you'd like a booklet about Jack Daniel's Whiskey, write us here in Lynchburg, Tennessee 37352 U.S.A.

"no" is "not always a negative answer—it can actually be very positive if you help someone avoid future debt problems. Nothing is worse than having to repossess a house."

Indeed, broadly based companies including Canada Trust and National Trust have limited their loan losses by lending conservatively. In 1990 for instance, Canada Trust reported so-called nonperforming investments of $189.2 million, up from $80.5 million in the previous year. By contrast, Royal Trust reported nonperforming loans of $539 million, compared with $74 million in 1989.

The most extreme example of the dangers of departing from conservative lending policies is Standard Trust, which went bankrupt last April largely because of its excessive lending to risky construction projects across the country, including condominiums in London, Ont., and a retirement home in Sudbury, Ont. Another company, Moose Jaw, Sask.-based Saskatchewan Trust, which lost $4 million last year because of its high-risk real estate loans, is being propped up by a line of credit from the Canadian Deposit Insurance Corp. Prior to the bailout, the federal agency prohibited the company from increasing its borrowing or accepting deposits over $60,000—the amount insured by the federal agency.

Now, some industry analysts say they are concerned that the federal government's new trust legislation may grant too much freedom to aggressive financial holding companies that control trusts. The holding companies, they argue, are allowed to incur debt and make diverse investments, which ultimately can jeopardize the underlying trust operations. First City Trust Co., for one, which is owned by the traditionally aggressive Belzberg family of Toronto and Vancouver, has been forced to ask creditors for relief because of the stock market losses incurred by its parent, First City Financial Corp. Ltd. In the first half of 1991, the 32-branch trust operation lost $108 million, and it is now under close supervision by provincial regulators. Similarly, the debts Central Capital incurred during its rapid expansion in the late 1980s have forced it to seek offers for its stake in Central Guaranty. Said one trust industry executive: "Central Guaranty is not a bad little shop. But the sins of the father are being visited upon the child."

But while Central Guaranty and other trust companies continue to search for partners in preparation for a new era, Mehlenbacher says that he is confident that National can survive and prosper on its own. As part of his commitment to the personalized service that he says is his company's most effective weapon, he visits National branches weekly to keep in touch with customers and employees. Declared Mehlenbacher: "As a former branch manager, I know you can't just demand that employees deliver better service—you have to motivate them. And I know what it's like to be on your feet all day behind a counter." For some of his acquisition-minded rivals, however, the fruits of that effort will certainly be tempting.

DEIRDRE McMURDY



A daring strategy—and bold execution

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

What mainly killed Meech Lake was the Mulroney government's strategy that not a comma of the original document could be altered, and the perception that the deal was negotiated behind closed doors with no public participation. This time around, as sophisticated a communications strategy as has ever been fielded by Ottawa was put in place to ensure that the new constitutional document's initial reception would not amount to outright rejection by any of the interested parties.

That limited objective was achieved. Even the proposals' fiercest critics—Quebec's Robert Bourassa, Newfoundland's Clyde Wells and First Nations' Ovide Mercredi—held themselves back from scuttling the exercise in their opening salvos. It worked partly because Brian Mulroney drew no lines in the sand, treating the new constitutional proposals as little more than a list of starting points, and partly because the Conservative government is genuine about wanting to open up the process to public debate.

The objective of Ottawa's heated activity was not to hard-sell a policy, but to market options

The communications strategy set down Ottawa's central message (that "the proposals form the basis for discussion that will shape Canada's future") and the intended tone of ministerial statements ("nonpartisan, businesslike, serious, positive about Canada and mindful of the threat to unity posed by current circumstances"). The initial publicity thrust will be followed by the sequential release of key backgrounders, on various aspects of constitutional reform, and the distribution of a tabloid outlining the proposals to every Canadian household.

But the key strategy was the internal communications timetable on Parliament Hill, which started with a 5:30 p.m. (EDT) Ottawa briefing by the Prime Minister and Clerk of the Privy Council Paul Tellier of the full cabinet on Sunday, Sept. 22. The following morning, Mulroney and Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark began to brief the Tory caucus and premiers, as well as territorial leaders, with the PM initially talking only to Bourassa, Wells, Ontario's Bob Rae and Alberta's Don Getty. As well as the other premiers, Clark briefed most of the provincial opposition leaders.

Meanwhile, the PM's chief political adviser, Hugh Segal, phoned former premiers Bill Davis (acknowledged as a prime mover on the Ontario scene) and Brian Peckford, as well as such political operatives as Senator Michael Kirby, former Liberal minister Eric Kierans, former PC party president Dalton Camp and onetime Liberal minister Maurice Sauvé, who had convened a meeting of the Group of 22 (a voluntary clutch of businessmen and academics whose advice was partly followed in the new plan) for the occasion.

At the same time, Clark was in touch with former Manitoba premier Howard Pawley, Stephen Lewis and Jean-Luc Pepin, another former federal Liberal minister whose thoughts influenced the current package. Former federal-provincial minister Lowell Murray briefed former party leaders Bob Stanfield and Ed Broadbent. Norman Spector, the Prime Minister's chief of staff, was assigned to phone his onetime boss, former B.C. premier Bill Bennett, and B.C. constitutionalist Mel Smith, as well as Quebec academic Pierre Fournier and Shirley Carr, head of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Only one outsider was considered worthy of a double whammy. Peter Loughheed, the former Alberta premier who has quietly been mobilizing a backup constitutional scenario that involves a series of constituent assemblies, was telephoned by both Mulroney and Clark.

Prof. Ron Watts, who left Queen's University to become the government's chief constitutional adviser, briefed a dozen academics across the country, including Tom Courchene, Peter Russell, Charles Taylor, Leon Dion, Terry Morley and Richard Simeon. Only the University of Toronto's Michael Bliss was due to be called personally by Clark. (The Prime Minister also telephoned former Ontario premier David Peterson.)

Inside the business community, five men—Tom D'Aquino, head of the Business Council on National Issues, Ghislain Dufour, president of Montreal's Conseil du patronat du Québec, Arden Haynes, the head of Imperial Oil, Allan Taylor, chairman of the Royal Bank, and Tom Kierans, head of the C.D. Howe Institute, were contacted by Tellier, while lesser Privy Council officials talked to officials of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the Canadian Bar Association, the Canadian Bankers' Association and a dozen other associations, including three women's groups. Other individual business leaders contacted included Bill Stinson, head of Canadian Pacific Ltd., and Purdy Crawford, CEO at Imasco in Montreal.

Simultaneously, a media blitz was being conducted with Clark appearing on *The Journal*, *Le Point*, Peter Gzowski's *Morningside*, *Question Period* and scheduled for *Cross Country Check-up*, *Sunday Morning* and other public affairs programs. Separate Clark interviews were offered to prominent journalists, among them Lise Bissonnette and Chantal Hébert of *Le Devoir*, Don Braid of the *Calgary Herald*, Alain Dubuc of *La Presse*, Carol Goar of *The Toronto Star* and Jeffrey Simpson of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*.

Outside Canada, our heads of missions in Washington, New York City, London, Paris and Tokyo gave briefings to local correspondents, with Clark slated to give special interviews to *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*.

The objective of all this frantic activity was not, as in the case of many previous Mulroney government initiatives, to hard-sell an existing policy, but to market a set of options. In the end, not all the phone calls and briefings actually took place, but the basic strategy worked.

The official communications plan spelled out the approach. "The 48 hours immediately following the launch will be critical. It is expected that the proposals will be severely criticized by the media, Quebec sovereigntists and by those in the rest of Canada who are opposed to any notion of recognizing Quebec's distinctiveness. The objective therefore is to get through the first 48 hours with the federal message that the proposals are a first step in the process."

That was exactly what happened.

No one scored higher on what counts most. Quality.



That's why the smart choice is Compaq.

Recently, *FORTUNE* magazine reported the results of a major survey. In it, senior executives of major computer companies ranked the largest companies in their industry. Compaq finished *number one* in what matters most to us: quality of products.

The survey was recent. But the commitment that earned those ratings was not. From day one we've asked our customers to define "quality." Then we translated that into PC systems, desktop, laptop and notebook PCs that are targeted directly to real customer needs.

We achieve this through meticulous attention to detail. We require every component supplier to meet stringent standards. We subject all new products to nonstop, 94-hour tests for the utmost reliability. And as standard procedure, we test our personal computers with no fewer than 300 hardware and software products, ensuring application compatibility.

The meaning of all this is simple. At Compaq, "quality" isn't just the latest business buzzword; it's a *reality* that means long-term value. For you.

But don't just read about COMPAQ quality. See it. Call for our free *Reliability by Design* video and the location of your nearest Authorized COMPAQ Computer Dealer. In Canada, call 1-800 263-5868, Operator 166. In the U.S., 1 800 231 0900, Operator 166.



COMPAQ

it simply works better

®TM, Registered trademark. Product names mentioned herein may be trademarks and or registered trademarks of other companies. ©1991 Compaq Computer Corporation. All rights reserved.



MIKE RICHWOOD

MacLeod (above); Ng: lawyers denounced the federal government's swift action

JUSTICE

A momentous ruling

The court refuses to condemn the death penalty

Retired elementary-school principal Dwight Stapley and his wife, Lola, were preparing breakfast at their home in Garden Grove, Calif., near Los Angeles, on Sept. 26 when they received a phone call from a Canadian radio station reporter. Stapley, 65, said that what he heard delighted him. That morning in Ottawa, the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled by a narrow margin of 4 to 3 that the Canadian government could extradite both convicted killer Joseph Kindler and accused mass murderer Charles Ng to the United States without assurances that the men would not be executed. Kindler faces a death sentence in Pennsylvania, while Ng (pronounced "Ing") could face execution in California if convicted of a series of rapes, kidnappings and murders—including the slaying of the Stapleys' 26-year-old son, Scott, in 1985. The Supreme Court majority argued that extraditing the two men would not violate their constitutional rights to be protected from cruel and unusual punishment under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Lawyers for the two men said that they accepted the Supreme Court ruling, but they condemned the government for surrendering Kindler and Ng back to U.S. law enforcement officials before the United Nations Committee on Human Rights had heard their appeals. The high court ruling ended six-year legal battles by Kindler and Ng to avoid extradition, and the ruling satisfied supporters and opponents of capital punishment. Julius Grey, the Montreal lawyer who represented Kindler, noted that three of the justices reaffirmed their opposition to capital punishment, and he added: "I believe this decision makes it impossible to revive the death penalty in Canada."

Of the two men, Ng is the better known because of the gruesome nature of the murders to which he has been linked. The 30-year-old Hong Kong native and former U.S. marine faces 25 charges, including 12 of murder and eight of kidnapping. Most of the crimes, including the death of Scott Stapley, occurred at an isolated cabin in Calaveras County, Calif., 230 km east of San Francisco, in 1984 and 1985. His alleged accomplice, Leonard Lake, committed suicide in June, 1985, while in police custody. Ng eluded police before they could arrest him and crossed the border into Canada, but was subsequently arrested for shoplifting and wounding a security guard in Calgary in July, 1985. The Alberta Court of Queen's Bench sentenced him to 4½ years in prison for those crimes in December, 1985. Since then, Ng has been serving his sentence at the Saskatchewan Penitentiary in Prince Albert.



Earlier, a jury convicted Kindler of first-degree murder in Philadelphia in 1983. Evidence disclosed that he used a baseball bat to bludgeon an accomplice who was going to testify against him in a burglary case. The jury recommended the death penalty, but Kindler escaped and fled to Canada before the court had passed sentence. Until last week, he was being held at Orsainville Penitentiary, near Quebec City.

To prevent their clients' extradition, both men's lawyers argued that a clause in the 1976 Canada-U.S. extradition treaty stipulates that Canada can refuse to return a fugitive if it asks for and does not receive assurances that the individual will not be executed. Both the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench, which heard the Ng case, and the Quebec Superior Court, which heard the Kindler case, ruled that the federal justice minister should decide whether to seek assurances that death sentences would not be carried out. Former justice ministers John Crosbie and Douglas Lewis both refused on the grounds that Canada could become a haven for murderers trying to escape justice. After further appeals by Ng's lawyer, Donald MacLeod of Calgary, current Justice Minister Kim Campbell referred the issue to the Supreme Court in June, 1990.

Last week's ruling revealed that the court was deeply divided. Writing for the majority, Justice Gérard La Forest argued that even though the men might be executed in the United States, their deaths would not result from any initiative taken in Canada, but rather from crimes committed in the United States, from trials held there and from sentences imposed there. In the dissenting opinion, Justice Peter Cory wrote that to argue that the charter provision does not apply to Ng and Kindler amounts to "an indefensible abdication of moral responsibility." Once the decision was released, the justice department handed over both Kindler and Ng to the Americans with remarkable speed. RCMP officers drove Kindler to Montreal's Dorval Airport, and by Thursday evening he was in a Pennsylvania prison.

Lawyers for both men denounced the government's swift action, claiming that their clients had not exhausted their final appeal. They said that they had asked the Geneva-based United Nations committee to review the cases, although they admitted that the UN committee could not make a binding ruling in the case. But back in California, families of some of Ng's alleged victims expressed relief that the accused man would finally be brought to trial. Said Stapley: "We're very pleased. We have probably aged 50 years in the last six." Still, with trials pending, the ordeals of the families are far from over.

D'ARCY JENISH *with* **JOHN HOWSE** *in Calgary*

On call 24 hours a day

Trust Maclean Hunter for exceptional paging products and services, and you'll be accessible any place...all the time. With almost 20 years of experience, the Maclean Hunter Paging Network has grown with our customers' needs.

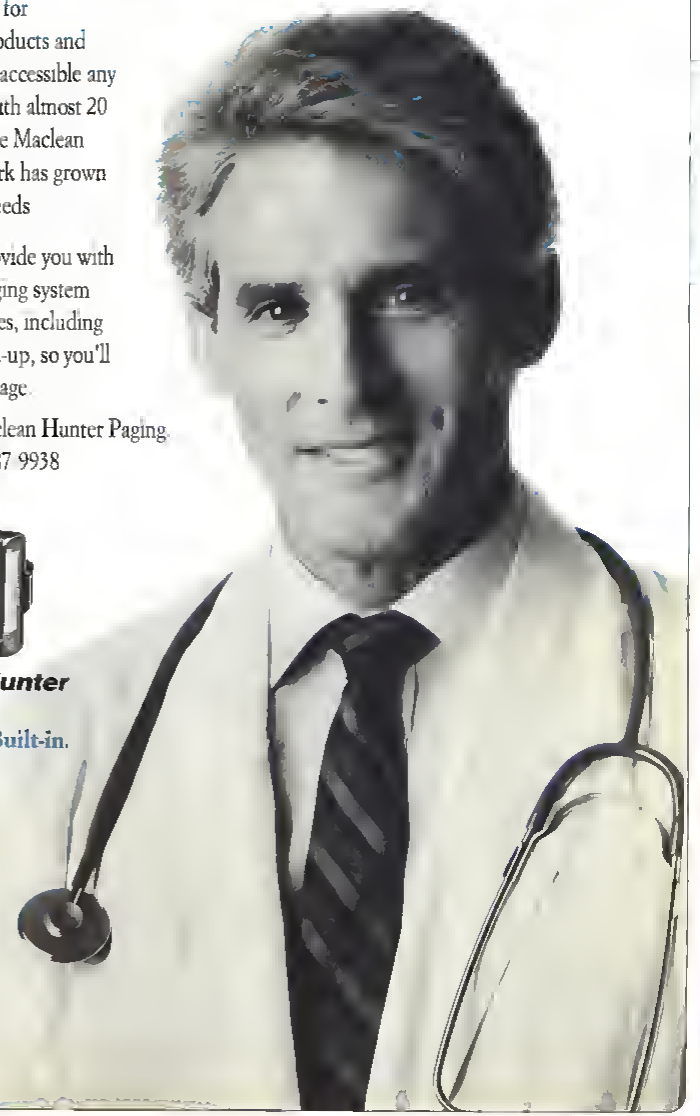
We're equipped to provide you with the most advanced paging system and dependable services, including answering service back-up, so you'll be sure to get the message.

Make the move to Maclean Hunter Paging. Call us today 1-800 387 9938



Maclean Hunter Paging

Our Reliability is Built-in.



Easing aching backs

A new technique relieves Cito Gaston's pain

Toronto baseball fans are renowned for arriving at the city's SkyDome late and leaving early. As a result there was only a smattering of applause to greet the Blue Jays as they took the field last Friday against the Minnesota Twins. But moments later, as rookie pitcher Juan Guzman threw his warm-up pitches, a camera connected to the huge JumboTron video screen in centre field panned the Blue Jays' dugout and found Cito Gaston, the team's 47-year-old manager. Gaston is a soft-spoken, barrel-chested Texan who has managed the Jays for nearly three seasons, but he had missed the team's last 33 games because of a debilitating herniated disc in his lower back. Gradually, as fans throughout the stadium recognized the manager on the bench, the ripple of applause swelled into a lusty, welcome-back ovation. Gaston told *Maclean's* that he was delighted to be able to return to work, but that he was even happier to be free of the searing back pain that had haunted him for four months. Added the manager: "I wouldn't wish that on anyone." That Gaston was able to return at all is largely a result of a promising new treatment that he is now undergoing, and that may hold promise for thousands of others with similar problems.

After turning the first-place American League East team over to batting coach Gene Tenace on Aug. 21, Gaston was hospitalized for 10 days and injected with morphine to ease his acute pain. After those treatments, and subsequent bed rest, failed to stop the pain that shot down his legs from his back, Gaston said that he received a discouraging report from his doctors. They predicted that he would have to undergo surgery, he told *Maclean's*, and that he would be out of action for the rest of the regular season and playoffs, should the team be in them. As a last resort, Gaston said that he decided to try a little-known treatment, involving a Vax-D table, that hockey star Mario Lemieux of the Pittsburgh Penguins used in August to relieve severe back spasms. After 3½ weeks and 20 sessions on the Canadian-built table, which gently stretches the spine to relieve pressure on compressed discs between vertebrae, Gaston was back on the job. Also back was Dave Stieb, the Jay's ace starting pitcher, who flew to Toronto from his home in California to begin the same course of treatment after being crippled for most of the season with severe back pain.

Stieb, 34, led the team with 18 victories in 1990, but he has been unable to pitch since May 22. Like Gaston, he had not responded well to conventional treatment of his herniated disc, and some team officials were concerned that if he did not improve while resting at home in Gilroy, Calif., he would require surgery that might have made him a doubtful starter next season—or perhaps in any season. As a result, at the end of its recent West Coast road trip last week, the team flew Stieb back to Toronto on its charter flight. He immediately began therapy on a Vax-D table at SkyDome under the direction of Dr. Allan Dyer, who developed the new equipment and who also treated Gaston there. But even if the treatment works for Stieb, as well, Gaston said that it will still be too late to get the all-star right-hander back in the lineup this year. Added the manager: "We're just trying to make sure that he is ready to go next year."



PETER BEGG/MACLEAN'S

Gaston on the telephone to the bullpen: relief

Still, Dyer told *Maclean's* that Stieb is responding well to his therapy, and that his condition was not as severe as Gaston's. Trainer Tommy Craig, who described Gaston's recovery as "outstanding," reserved judgment on Stieb. "It's too early to tell," said Craig. "He just got started." For his part, Stieb, who was first treated last Thursday and arrived at the team clubhouse at the SkyDome the next day walking easily and carrying a suit bag, told *Maclean's*: "All I can [say] is that I feel better. Otherwise, I wouldn't be here."

The success of the table, both in clinical tests and, more recently, on high-profile sports figures, has created a production problem for Vat-Tech Inc., Dyer's Toronto company that builds the equipment. Dyer, 68, a former Ontario deputy minister of health, said that he had not planned to commercially produce the table until a scientific assessment of the table's performance is published in *Spine*, a Philadelphia-based medical journal. The authors of the paper, doctors Gustavo Ramos and William Martin of the HCA Rio Grande Regional Hospital in McAllen, Tex., were apparently highly impressed with the equipment. They said that about 70 per cent of their patients who suffered from herniated or degenerative disc problems—painful compressions of the discs between the vertebrae in the lower back—achieved functional mobility and often complete recovery with Vax-D therapy. But although the paper is still being reviewed for publication, the company's west-end Toronto offices were inundated with calls after a report of the table's success rate—and Gaston's use of it—was published last week in *Maclean's*. Said Natalie Dyer, a physician who co-owns Vat-Tech with her husband: "We don't have any tables left to sell."

Gaston scoffed at published suggestions that he had been under pressure to return to managing from senior Blue Jay officials. He said that he had, in fact, been impatient to get involved in the pennant race. Added Gaston: "But I wouldn't be doing this if I didn't feel better." With the calm, confident presence of Gaston in the dugout, the team responded in his first game back by defeating the AL West division-leading Twins 7-2, and moving 3½ games ahead of the Boston Red Sox in the East with eight games left in the season. For Gaston, that too was a welcome relief.

JAMES DEACON



THE MAGIC RETURNS

INTRODUCING A NEW GENERATION OF JAGUAR PERFORMANCE. THE NEW, 1992 SIX-CYLINDER, STANDARD TRANSMISSION XJS SPORTS COUPE.

This new Jaguar XJS Sports Coupe is about to capture the [illegible] and stir the imaginations of those who remember a earlier legend. And, there's good reason.

To begin with, Jaguar's high-performance, 4.0 litre, double overhead cam, aluminum alloy engine delivers swift, sure power. In fact, this legend in the making accelerates from 0 to 100 km in a quietly confident 7.9 seconds. An advanced Getrag 290 five-speed, transmission puts smoothly precise manual shifting in the palm of your hand. A refined sports suspension assures responsively athletic [illegible] handling. For those who prefer, Jaguar's ZF, electronic four-speed automatic transmission is also available.

But, the new XJS Sports Coupe is far more than a paragon of engineering refinement, spirited performance, and driving exhilaration. A beautifully styled interior, featuring traditional hand-crafted appointments and advanced electronic amenities, offers a degree of elegance that is distinctively Jaguar.

The 1992 XJS range presents a new era of Jaguar excellence, secured by our new four-year warranty, plus no-cost Club Jaguar benefits. Benefits include all scheduled maintenance, comprehensive 24 hour trip interruption services, and a host of other motoring benefits, for four years or 80,000 km, whichever comes first. Please ask for details.

Experience the magic yourself today. Call your Jaguar dealer to arrange your demonstration drive.

CLUB JAGUAR

JAGUAR

A BLENDING OF ART AND MACHINE

HOLY CAPED CRUSADER!

For comedian Paul Reubens, better known as Pee-wee Herman, there may be life after public disgrace. Hollywood sources say that Herman, 39, arrested last July on indecent-exposure charges in Sarasota, Fla., has been signed to appear in *Batman Returns*, the sequel to director Tim Burton's blockbuster 1989 hit. Herman's small role would be a throwback to the campy Batman TV series, which thrived on appearances by offbeat celebrities. Said a spokesman for Hollywood's Warner Bros. studio: "It will be an unbilled cameo, somewhere between one scene and a little more than that."



SCHARBO, GAMMA LIAISON

Reubens: Batman sequel comes to the rescue



BENABIB/FENA

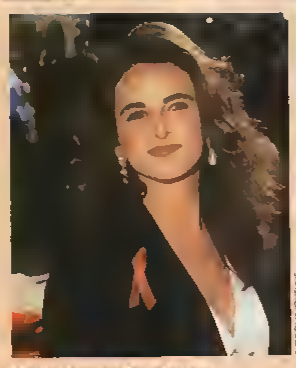
Streisand: rave album reviews and new movie challenges

The Queen of Hollywood

Actress and singer **Barbra Streisand** is riding high. *Just for the Record* [illegible], her new album, which mostly contains previously unreleased songs, is winning rave reviews. And in December, she will star in *The Prince of Tides*. According to Streisand, who also produced and directed the movie, working behind the scenes gave her a new perspective as an actress. Said Streisand, 49: "If I were just the star, I would say, 'Listen, you've got to shoot me first so I'm not tired and I look good.' But once I direct, 'the star' goes right down the drain."

Speaking parts

Deaf actress **Marlee Matlin**, who won the best actress Oscar for playing an angry deaf woman in the 1986 movie, *Children of a Lesser God*, is now starring in her first TV series, *Reasonable Doubts*. But Matlin, 26, who usually uses sign language on the screen to communicate her lines, says that she does not like to consider herself a role model for other deaf people. She added that she has never let her handicap, which resulted from a childhood bout with German measles, get in the way of her ambition. Declared Matlin: "Whether you have a disability or not, you go for what you want."



SIDOMSKY/OUTLINE

Matlin: 'you go for what you want'

A PENNY SAVED

Since its publication in 1989, David Chilton's* The Wealthy Barber, *a folksy $14.95 financial guide, has sold an incredible 200,000 copies in Canada. Now, the author has set his sights on conquering a new market with a just-published U.S. edition. Said Chilton, who lives in Kitchener, Ont.: "It has always been in the back of my mind that I want this book to make it in the United States." Although the new version takes account of the different U.S. tax laws, Chilton says that* The Wealthy Barber*'s common-sense approach to building savings and paying down debt remains unchanged. Declared Chilton, 29: "People are slightly better off in America because of lower taxes, but my basic message is the same: there are no get-rich-quick schemes."

Music to his fans' ears

This month, CBC Radio host **Clyde Gilmour** celebrates the 35th anniversary of his popular one-hour show, *Gilmour's Albums*. But the 79-year-old host says that he has no plans to celebrate the occasion—or even announce it to his 500,000 weekly listeners. Said Gilmour: "If I make it to 40, or maybe even 50 years, that might rate a bit of a bash." Since 1956, Gilmour, a former critic for *The Toronto Star*, has developed a well-earned reputation for his soothing wit and decidedly eclectic musical selections. A case in point: "Some months ago," said Gilmour, "I read a news story that women in New York City were starting to hire detectives to sleuth their boyfriends to see if there was anything sinister in their background. The logical thing to play was Peggy Lee singing 'I know a little bit about a lot of things, but I don't know enough about you.'"



FRED PHILIPS/CP

Gilmour: musical selections

From the director of "Driving Miss Daisy"

Black Robe

comes an epic adventure
about courage, hope, survival,
and [illegible] man.

Alliance Communications and Samson Productions
A Robert Lantos production • BLACK ROBE
Lothaire Bluteau • August Schellenberg • Aden Young
Sandrine Holt • Tantoo Cardinal • Lawrence Bayne
Director of Photography Peter James • Music by Georges Delerue
Production Designer Herbert Pinter • Costume Designer Renee April • John Hay
Edited by Tim Wellburn • Casting by Clare Walker
Executive Producers Jake Eberts • Brian Moore • Denis Héroux
Screenplay by Brian Moore Based upon his novel Black Robe
Produced by Robert Lantos
Stephane Reichel • Sue Milliken
Directed by Bruce Beresford

ALLIANCE

Produced with the participation of Telefilm Canada
Australian Film Finance Pty Limited FFC
First Choice Canadian Communications Corporation
and Rogers Telefund

The Immaculate Connection.



Madonna.

Her music soars to the top of the charts.
Her marketing abilities rival those of large corporations.
Her popularity knows no boundaries.

And her opinions know no bounds.

Maclean's senior writer Brian D. Johnson discovered that when he connected with her in Los Angeles. During an exclusive, two-hour interview, she spoke candidly about topics ranging from her music and her family to bisexuality and blasphemy.

It was more than a question-and-answer session. It was a new testament of one of today's most influential people. And it was found only in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

BOOKS

Tragedy and triumph

A small town reels after a devastating accident

THE SWEET HEREAFTER
By Russell Banks
(McClelland & Stewart, 257 pages, $16.95)

Russell Banks's new novel is a relatively small book that tackles some very large questions. Why do bad things happen to good people? How do human beings make sense of random tragedy? Who is to blame for disaster? As in Banks's earlier novels, including *Continental Drift* (1986) and *Affliction* (1989)—*The Sweet Hereafter* focuses on working-class people struggling to make sense of the brutal hand that destiny has dealt them. But a novel concerned mainly with tragedy and its aftermath is not for the fainthearted: reading the book is a depressing experience. Banks offers no answers and no consolation, but his deftness and sensitivity as a writer make *The Sweet Hereafter* an irresistible chronicle of the human capacity to endure.

The setting is a small town in Upstate New York called Sam Dent. The tragedy occurs on a bleak January morning as Dolores Driscoll is nearing the end of the school bus route that she has been driving safely for 22 years. On the last stretch, she loses control of the bus and it plunges down an embankment. Fourteen children die in the crash. But Dolores survives, and the novel opens with her account of events leading up to the accident—from the time she waves goodbye to her husband, Abbott, who is housebound because of a stroke, until she swerves to miss what she thinks is a dog. "For the rest of my life, I will remember that red-brown blur, like a stain of dried blood, standing against the road with a thin screen of blown snow suspended between it and me," Dolores recalls.

The story continues to unfold through the eyes of Billy Ansel, whose nine-year-old twins, Jessica and Mason, are among the victims. Billy is an intelligent and introspective man who returned from a tour of duty in Vietnam in the early 1970s and opened a service station, where he provides jobs for other veterans. He was no stranger to tragedy before the accident. Lydia, his high-school sweetheart and wife, died of cancer four years earlier; only alcohol and an affair with a friend's wife have blunted his pain.

His lover, Risa Walker, also loses a son in the accident. But rather than comfort each other, she and Billy drift apart. Risa, like many of the

Visit MacWorld and find out what your next DOS computer will look like.

MacWorld Expo, Better Living Centre, Exhibition Place, Toronto, October 8, 9, 10. For MacWorld information phone (416) 591-2447

The Apple logo are registered trade marks of Apple Computer Inc. MS-DOS is a registered trade mark of Microsoft Corp.

ARTS
WEEK
SEPT 28-OCT 6
More than 200 FREE arts events throughout Greater Toronto
Sponsored by
MOLSON
Presented by
CBC Radio 740
THE TORONTO STAR
CBC Television Toronto
Get your complete schedule of events in the Toronto Star, Saturday, September 21, 1991. Or call 977-ARTS.
Daily information throughout ArtsWeek in the Toronto Star and on CBC Radio 740 and CBC Television Toronto
A program of the Arts Foundation of Greater Toronto
Design Wellington West Communications Inc.

Subscribers and Mailing Lists

Occasionally Maclean's provides its subscriber mailing list to other companies whose products or services may be of value to readers. But if you don't want to receive information this way, here's an opportunity to remove your name from the lists we provide to other companies. Simply send your subscriber mailing label with this notice to Maclean's Customer Service, 777 Bay Street, 8th Floor, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1A7.

Maclean's
THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

town's residents, deals with her grief by insisting that she had a premonition that something terrible was going to happen. "It was a way of living with tragedy," Billy observes. And Rose, like the other parents whose children died, is eager to launch a negligence suit. But Billy says that he is "beyond bitterness." And his intimate knowledge of death has made him certain that no one was to blame: it was just an accident. "I could say that I saw it all coming, like most people in town do, but unlike them, I'd almost be lying," he thinks. "While I expected death, I did not anticipate it."

The town's need to assign blame and exact revenge is met by a New York City lawyer, Mitchell Stephens. He sets up shop in Sam Dent and persuades the parents of the victims that, in his words, "There are no accidents. I don't even know what the word means, and I never trust anybody who says he does." But despite Mitchell's ability to manipulate people and the truth, his own life is largely out of control. He is powerless to deal with the central obsession of his life, his teenage daughter Zoe, whom he describes as "a whacked-out, drug-addicted child" living on the streets of New York, Pittsburgh, Seattle and Los Angeles.

Mitchell's mission is to prove that some institution—the state, the town or the school district—was responsible for the accident. The linchpin of his case is 14-year-old Nichole Burnell, who survived the tragedy but was left a paraplegic. Nichole has no memory of the crash, but Mitchell decides that he can still use her devastating injury to sway the verdict in his favor.

Of all the characters in *The Sweet Hereafter*, Nichole is the one who behaves least like a victim. Instead of being carried along by events, she acts in a positive way to save a community that seems about to disintegrate [illegible]. Nichole has endured more than seems fair, but unlike Billy, she is not yet "beyond bitterness." She understands that the negligence suit has aroused a kind of primal lust for retribution in the town, and she decides to concoct a testimony that will cause the least harm.

The final chapter belongs to Dolores, who in the seven months following the accident avoids seeing her old friends and neighbors. But Dolores and Abbott finally decide to confront the community by attending the fall fair. And in the unlikely arena of a demolition derby, a symbolic battle is enacted between Dolores's first, makeshift school bus—an old station wagon nicknamed Boomer—and a motley collection of other wrecks.

The world according to Banks is a bleak and precarious place. And in the end, the novel suffers from excessive morbidity, unmitigated by humor or hope. Still, the author's treatment of his characters is tinged with love. Billy, Nichole, Dolores and even Mitchell are ordinary and imperfect people. But, beset by tragedy, they are striking in their dignity. They and the community itself emerge as heroes.

CECILY ROSS

BE A POWER SAVER



WE'RE IN THE BUSINESS OF HELPING YOUR BUSINESS

We can help business today find ways to lower overhead and cut operating costs.

BRING DOWN A MAJOR OVERHEAD COST

New, efficient lighting fixtures and lamps last longer, consume less electricity, generate less heat for reduced cooling costs, and can improve lighting quality. And, since Hydro offers cash incentives of up to 50% toward the cost of conversion, switching to energy efficiency has never been easier.

A DESIGN FOR SAVING MONEY

That's what Hydro's Savings By Design Program is all about. Funding custom designed projects that cut electricity demand through improved efficiency, and financing feasibility studies up to 100%.

CUT COOLING COSTS WITH THERMAL COOL STORAGE

Thermal Cool Storage, an innovative energy efficient advancement, lets you cool your building during peak hours at off-peak rates using chilled water or ice storage technology.

PUT US TO WORK FOR YOU

Qualified energy advisors are available to visit your business, review your energy use and make cost saving recommendations in a detailed, confidential report. Plus, Ontario Hydro incentives are available and our Advisor will help make sure you get them.

Be a Power Saver. Call 1-800-263-9091.

Ontario Hydro
Let's give tomorrow a hand.

BOOKS

Slaves on ice

A new book documents hockey owners' greed

NET WORTH: EXPLODING THE MYTHS OF PRO HOCKEY
By David Cruise and Alison Griffiths
(Penguin, 391 pages, $27.99)

Few people are more grossly overpaid than professional athletes, the looming hulks who draw down millions for playing games that you and I outgrew years ago. Even so, Victoria-based writers David Cruise and Alison Griffiths have undertaken to examine another aspect of this economic phenomenon: the greed and avarice of hockey's owners and entrepreneurs, who bilked the muscled serfs for roughly half a century. As they write, "Hockey owners have always been as flint-edged and parsimonious a group as exists in professional sport."

That pretty well sets the tone for *Net Worth*, which the authors say is the product of "2½ years, four filing cabinets of documents, 19 research trips and over 400 interviews." Cruise and Griffiths have uncovered some mighty fascinating nuggets, ranging from the long-ago wily manoeuvring of Conn Smythe and James E. Norris to the modern-day skirmishing around Wayne Gretzky and Eric Lindros. And in between, there are some intriguing vignettes concerning the foulmouthed agent Alan Eagleson.



Eagleson: breakup

Still, it's an uneven work. In spite of 16 pages of "endnotes"—a mishmash bibliography—numerous allegations go undocumented. Such as this one about Norris, the bulky grain baron who owned or controlled the Detroit Red Wings, the Chicago Black Hawks and the New York Rangers: "Norris strode through life with a bull-like arrogance, but his demeanor masked considerable subtlety. When no one was looking, he could slide off with the hush of a snake, negotiate some quiet but monumental deal and reappear in another place entirely, with neither his name nor his fingerprints visible anywhere on the transaction." (Norris was once so powerful in hockey that then Toronto *Globe and Mail* columnist Jim Coleman often wrote of the NHL as "the Norris House League.")

About Smythe, the authors note that this man who built Maple Leaf Gardens was often applauded as a hockey purist because he refused to expand the seating beyond its sold-out capacity of 12,737 (it is now close to 16,000). "In truth, keeping the Gardens underdeveloped and underutilized deflated the share price and allowed him to slowly pick up undervalued stock at a bargain," they write. "The books were pokod, prodded and curried masterfully to show no hint of either the hockey team's or the arena's real profitability."

Noting that Smythe had a hand in breaking up efforts by players to form a union in 1956, the authors come up with another extraordinary statement. They write that Smythe instructed his lawyer, Ian S. Johnston, to find a way to block the union, and that Johnston was successful in ferreting out an unnamed informant in the Maple Leafs' dressing room. This informant's reports, the authors say, "allowed the owners to put tremendous pressure on specific players."



PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS SCHWARZ/MACLEAN'S

Lindros (right): a prodigy who realized that his sport is a dog-eat-dog business

Cruise and Griffiths' research unveiled some light moments, too. James Norris's son, Jim, who also became a boxing czar, was often accompanied by an "austere figure, who lurked in the corridors at NHL board of governors' meetings." It was Sammy (Golf Bag) Hunt, a hit man who got the nickname by carrying a machine-gun in a golf bag. The guy would shout "Fore!" before blowing somebody away.

An enduring mystery has been the cause of the breakup between agent Eagleson and Bobby Orr. The Eagle took on Orr when Bobby was 18 and about to join the Boston Bruins. The success of this union had a lot to do with the formation of the National Hockey League Players Association, of which Eagleson became executive director, ruling the players like a plantation owner. But early in 1980, with his career prematurely ended by knee injuries, Orr became disillusioned with his arrangement with Eagleson. Three years earlier, Eagleson had proclaimed that Bobby Orr Enterprises was generating $400,000 a year. Now it had "few assets and no future," the authors write.

"Worst of all," they rootmue, "Eagleson, who had once said Orr was 'fixed for life,' now told him it was all his fault for spending too much and ignoring Eagleson's sound investment advice. Angry at the turn of events, nearly broken inside over the loss of his career and hurt by Eagleson's clear message that he had become a liability, Orr walked away from the man he had once called a brother."

Even non-fans are familiar with much of the ongoing saga of hockey's foremost child prodigy, Eric Lindros, but even fans will be engrossed by the account of his awakening to the fact that hockey is a dog-eat-dog business. He was 16, and had been drafted by the Sault Ste. Marie Greybound juniors, a team then owned by former NHL star Phil Esposito, who had been told by Lindros's parents and his agent that he would not report if the Greyhounds selected him. Even so, they went ahead. "I thought my life was over," Lindros says. "There were a lot of lessons in that. Phil Esposito didn't really care about where a 16-year-old kid was going to end up playing hockey. Didn't really care about his life." Then he adds: "And what goes around comes around."

As it has in his current squabble with the Quebec Nordiques. The authors are on top of that one, too, as they are in almost everything in their absorbing book.

TRENT FRAYNE



It's been five hundred years since Corte Real discred Canada. Don't you think we owe him a visit?

In 1472 Corte Real's intrepid crew of Portuguese explorers braved the uncharted waters of the Atlantic to discover the coast of Canada. Fortunately it's a far simpler matter for you to return across the ocean and discover today's Portugal. ¶ It's a surprising blend of old and new. Today's explorers can stay in modern luxury hotels, or choose the old-world charm of "Pousadas," hotels often situated in magnificent historical buildings. ¶ Let your travel agent arrange for you to visit the home of Corte Real. Portugal, discover it first. portugal

POIGAL

AIR PORTUGAL

For more information, contact your travel agent or The Portuguese National Office, 60 Bloor Street West, Suite 1005, Toronto, Ontario, M4W 3B8

The Land of Discoveries

The Bank Giveth

Transfer your mortgage to Hongkong Bank of Canada
and we'll give you up to $150 to cover your transfer costs.

And The Bank Taketh Away.

Transfer your savings to us
and we'll take up to 3/[illegible] off your mortgage rate.

From September 16 through December 31, 1991,
we're offering some very special deals on our 20/20 Mortgage during our
Give & Take Mortgage Offer.
Deals like waiving our transfer fees, paying up to $150 for penalty fees
charged by your existing institution and making
an appraisal of your property at absolutely no charge if required.
And on conventional first mortgages with a minimum term of 1 year closed,
giving you 1/4% off your mortgage rate if you make a deposit of
$10,000 or more to any one of our accounts, term investments or RRSPs.
Or 3/8% off for deposits totalling $25,000 or more.
So drop into your nearest branch today and talk to us about your mortgage needs.
After all, doesn't getting what you want always involve a little give and take?

Hongkong Bank of Canada

FILMS

Sweet and affecting

A boy helps a couple to renew their marriage

PARADISE
Directed by Mary Agnes Donoghue

It sounds too sweet for words. Celebrity couple Don Johnson and Melanie Griffith—now in their second marriage to each other—co-star as a husband and wife making emotional amends in *Paradise*, a cosy little movie about second chances. For two stars who abandoned fast-lane lives to remake their marriage and start a new family, *Paradise* seems like the career equivalent of a house in the country, a *People* magazine dream-come-true. In fact, the movie *is* sweet, safe and predictable—but not insufferably so. Based on the 1987 French film *Le Grand chemin*, *Paradise* is a character drama that wends its way to the heart with unaffected charm. Sharing the screen with two children, Johnson and Griffith deliver the most subtly convincing performances of their careers. And screenwriter Mary Agnes Donoghue, directing her first feature, triggers lambent emotions with a delicate touch.



MARCIA REED

Griffith (left), Wood: emotional amends

The story focuses on a troubled 10-year-old city boy named Willard (Elijah Wood), who comes of age one summer in the country. Willard's pregnant mother has sloughed him off to friends in a small town called Paradise, a fictional backwater on the South Carolina coast. As the boy shyly checks out his new surroundings, he learns that his new guardians, Ben (Johnson) and Lily (Griffith), are in such a fragile state that they can barely keep their marriage together: they are still grieving the accidental death of their own young son two years earlier.

Willard's presence first serves as a painful reminder of the son who never grew up to go fishing with his dad. But he turns out to be more effective than a marriage counsellor. He also learns to overcome his own fears by forming a friendship with an intrepid 9-year-old girl named Billie (Thora Birch). Canadian actor Sheila McCarthy, meanwhile, adds a sharp note of comic relief as Billie's single mother, Sally, an eccentric waitress with a record of doomed romances.

Although the story is unremarkable, the characters are compelling. Portraying a shrimp fisherman, Johnson eventually relaxes his trademark surliness, which seems absurdly misplaced when the target is a 10-year-old. Griffith plumbs new depths of vulnerability. And, despite some lapses into sitcom cuteness, the child actors help carve a little piece of Paradise out of an unassuming drama.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

If You're In The Market For A Better World, Read This.

Choosing products that are less harmful to the environment is something many Canadians want to do. But it's not always easy. How a product is made, how much energy it uses and who to believe are all vital questions. We can help. We at Environmental Choice are an impartial body established by the Government of Canada to help you find products that are less harmful to the environment. We examine the environmental impact of various types of products. Our work begins with a scientific assessment of the ways a product is made, used and disposed of. Only select products that meet our criteria can carry the Environmental Choice symbol of certification, the EcoLogo. This symbol appears along with a brief statement of the reason why the product has been selected as a good environmental choice. So take a step in the right direction. Look for the EcoLogo on a growing number of products. You can make a difference.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHOICE · CHOIX ENVIRONNEMENTAL · M

Environment Canada Environnement Canada

M—An official mark of Environment Canada

Canada



FILMS

Epic struggles

Revealing the rage when natives met whites

Last year, Kevin Costner carved his name in Hollywood history by directing and starring in *Dances with Wolves*, a movie that portrayed native people with unprecedented affection and respect. The film won seven Oscars and grossed more than $200 million—an astounding feat for a three-hour epic with subtitles. For all its risk-taking, however, it was very much a Hollywood movie—a big, beautiful, sun-drenched western that portrayed Indians with the untarnished romanticism once reserved for cowboys. Now, two new Canadian films, *Black Robe* and *Clearcut*, take up where *Dances with Wolves* left off. Like *Dances*, they are both stories of white men who are transformed by their exposure to Indians. But they portray natives in a much less benign light. Neither *Black Robe* nor *Clearcut* is a movie in the Hollywood mould: they are too dark, too disturbing and too painfully lacking in redemption. They are adventures in Canadian masochism.

Both movies are about Indians taking white men on gruelling canoe trips—expeditions into a wilderness of physical torture and spiritual terror. Both are adapted from Canadian novels and directed by foreign-born film-makers making their first Canadian features. Based on Brian Moore's 1985 best-seller about a 17th-century Jesuit missionary, *Black Robe* is a dignified spectacle, visually stunning yet strangely lacking in consequence. *Clearcut* suffers from an overkill of consequence. Based on M. T. Kelly's 1987 novel, *A Dream like Mine*, about an Indian who kidnaps a paper-mill manager, it is a devastating parable about environmental issues and aboriginal rage.

Although each film is groundbreaking in its own way, each also has its failings, and neither is entirely satisfying. Both have qualities that the other desperately lacks. *Black Robe* is a beautifully crafted movie that is without a clear point of view, a catharsis or a strong central character. *Clearcut* is less polished, but it has a clear-cut message, a terrifying climax and a central character so strong that he overwhelms the others. In a spellbinding performance as the kidnapper, Canadian Oneida actor Graham Greene presents a nightmarish flip side to his Oscar-nominated performance as a medicine man in *Dances with Wolves*. But *Clearcut*'s assault on white-liberal guilt is so violent that at times the movie itself becomes a form of torture.

Both films invite controversy. *Black Robe*'s Australian director, Bruce Beresford, told an interviewer in his home country that it may be "the gloomiest picture of all time," alarming his distributors. But Beresford recently countered that for all its gloom the movie is also "exhilarating." Meanwhile, Moore—who adapted *Black Robe*'s script from his own novel—complained in a *Maclean's* interview that Montreal actor Lothaire Bluteau was too "unsympathetic" in the lead role as a young French Jesuit missionary in the New World.

With *Clearcut*, violence has become a point of contention. The film-makers have criticized the movie's distributor for promoting it with the slogan "The violence has begun" in newspaper advertisements. "That makes it sound like an ugly exploitation film," said Toronto-based director Richard Bugajski. "It's a mistake to use the violence as a magnet for audiences." Bugajski and his producers have also complained about the $3-million movie's halfhearted distribution.

Black Robe and *Clearcut* were both shot last year in remote locations and under harsh conditions. But *Black Robe* was by far the more ambitious project. A $14-million epic created with Australian co-producers, it is the most expensive Canadian movie since the ill-fated 1990 epic *Bethune: The Making of a Hero*. Launched before the comforting success of *Dances with Wolves*, *Black Robe* was a much riskier venture, a movie with subtitled native dialogue and a taciturn priest for a hero. "It's a film that could never be made in the States," said Moore. "It's about religion; it's about Canada; it's *not* a love story. Canadians don't realize the incredible difficulty there is in putting their ideas out to the world."

Filmed from late summer to early winter along Quebec's breathtaking Saguenay River, *Black Robe* chronicles a 1,500-mile canoe trip undertaken by the fictional Father Laforgue (Bluteau) in 1634. He is accompanied by Algonquin guides and a young French translator, Daniel, dynamically portrayed by Aden Young. As the journey unfolds, Daniel becomes increasingly enchanted by the native way of life—and by an Indian princess named Annuka (Sandrine Holt), daughter of Algonquin Chief Chomina (August Schellenberg).

Stoically, Laforgue pursues his mission and clings to his faith in the face of relentless hardship. He is branded a demon by a yellow-painted shaman dwarf. He is betrayed by his Algonquin guides, who call baptism "water sorcery." And he is tortured by the Iroquois. Adding insult to injury, Daniel forsakes Christ for a native religion governed by dreams and ancestral spirits. "Is that harder to believe," he asks, "than a paradise where we all sit on clouds and look at God?"

The movie's most obvious shortcoming is that Laforgue's spiritual torment—which serves as the backbone of the book—is almost invisible. In the novel, he suffers such agonizing lapses of faith that his mission seems absurd; in the movie, his faith is unshakable and the irony is lost. Beresford has filmed *Black Robe* as a drama of action, landscape and weather—a freeze-dried excursion into austere beauty. The art direction is superb. The images are haunting. But the novel's psychological intrigue does not survive the portage from the page to the screen.

In adapting his own fiction, Moore must take some of the blame. But he quarrels with Bluteau's interpretation of Laforgue. "He played it very intellectually and very coldly," said the author, "and he looked rather priggish at times. He did not make any appeal for sympathy, which in some ways is a mistake."

For his part, Bluteau said that in preparing his role he was bombarded by conflicting interpretations. Moore's book is largely based on *Relations*, a collection of the Jesuit missionaries' writings. But some of the native actors and extras on the set disputed the Jesuit version of events. "People would come with all kinds of information," said Bluteau. "On both sides, you'd have people trying to clean out their past."

The actor added that he would have preferred to portray Laforgue in French, but for commercial reasons, the film-makers had the French characters speak English. The Indians, however, speak in subtitled Cree and Mohawk, a reasonable facsimile of 17th-century Algonquin dialect. Despite such attention to detail, Beresford sometimes chose the exotic over the authentic, according to Denis Lacroix, one of the native actors. "Algonquins didn't shave their heads," he said, "but [the film-makers] loved the look."

Black Robe incorporates a myriad of compromises that Moore did not have to make in writing the book. The movie cuts out the novel's profane extremes: the Indians' scatalogical sense of humor, their cannibalism and the priest's lust. In the screen version, *everyone* acts more dignified. But Moore maintains that toning the novel down was essential. "Movies are so powerful," he said. "In a novel the author can control completely the reader's reaction to violence and sex. But on screen you can't. We didn't want to make a horror movie."

The makers of *Clearcut* were not so cautious. It contains perhaps the most harrowing portrayals of violence ever seen in a serious Canadian film. They include the gruesome skinning of a man's leg below the knee and the brutal shooting of two policemen that sends blood spurting onto a character's face. *A Dream like Mine*'s author, M. T. Kelly, said in an interview that although the movie "captures the spirit of the book," he finds some of the on-screen violence grossly excessive.

The movie, scripted by Toronto-based screenwriter Rob Forsyth, is also more politically explicit than Kelly's novel. The main character, Peter (Ron Lea)—a journalist in the book—is now a lawyer representing an Indian band embroiled in an anti-logging suit. The movie opens weakly, with Peter arriving at a native demonstration where he is grilled by a female reporter (Rebecca Jenkins) who turns out to have no real place in the narrative.

Learning that he has lost the natives' court battle, Peter is overcome with guilt and anger. Then he meets Arthur (Greene), a mysterious Indian who incarnates the lawyer's darkest dreams of revenge. Dragging Peter along as an unwilling accomplice, Arthur kidnaps Bud (Michael Hogan), the paper-mill manager, and takes them on a terrifying excursion into the bush. The Indian tortures Bud, calling it retribution for a history of genocide and environmental waste. "You know that soldiers used to play catch with the breasts of Navaho women," says Arthur, as he flays Bud's leg. "They were slippery and hard to hang onto. This is nothing—this is one man's leg."

As Bud, Hogan strains for credibility with such lines as "Indians give me the creeps." And Peter's earnest liberalism seems forced. But Greene is brilliant, balancing a macabre rage with a wickedly casual sense of humor.

Greene told *Maclean's* that when he first read the script, "I thought, 'this guy's hilarious.' I guess that's what attracted me to the part—his sense of humor, as dark as it was." Added the actor: "Arthur is a spirit of nature who shows human beings, 'This is what you're doing to us and this is what I'm going to do to you.'"

A version of the trickster spirit of Indian folklore, Arthur is a ghost from the past. But *Clearcut* also resonates with recent events. Its filming coincided with the violent confrontations between Mohawks and police last year. Greene, however, shrugs off the parallels. "The ways and means of the political structure are totally baffling to me. I refuse to be one of the players." But, he added, "I believe in helping Mother Earth, and she's getting her ass kicked. Jeepers, if they keep wiping out the trees we're eventually going to wipe ourselves out."

Between *Black Robe*'s 17th-century epic and *Clearcut*'s 1990s allegory, the Indian fact is making its presence felt. The stories are still being told through white eyes. And their authenticity is uneven—although both movies portray Indian sweat-lodge ceremonies, according to native observers only *Clearcut*'s is realistic. But on the positive side, the native voice is finally being heard in mainstream culture. More Indian actors are being cast in Indian roles. And while the white man's lens may distort the details of Canada's native heritage, the spirit often cuts through with arresting clarity.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Scene from* Black Robe*: a freeze-dried voyage into Canada's austere beauty

Lea (top), Greene, Hogan: not in the Hollywood mould

Polishing a jewel

A great musician takes charge in Ottawa

The conductor's music—a short but alluring program of Berlioz Handel and Mozart—was exquisite And his spoken message to the near-capacity audience attending an open-house rehearsal in Ottawa's 2,100-seat National Arts Centre Opera hall was a marketing manager's dream At the end of the concert last week, Trevor Pinnock turned on his podium and declared "This was just an appetizer—for the main course you have to buy tickets' Then he added "And if you don't like it you can come to me and ask for your money back" With that blend of the sublime and the commercial, the world-renowned British musician last week began a four-year contract as the new artistic director and principal conductor of the 46-member NAC Orchestra, which is clearly in need of both confident leadership and box-office success Predicted Pinnock in an interview "We will set this place buzzing."

The 44 year-old conductor is taking over after a turbulent period in the 22-year history of the orchestra, considered to be one of the nation's best as well as the jewel in the NAC's crown But an upheaval began in 1988 with a shuffle in the centre's executive suite—and a controversial decision not to renew the contract of the music director Israeli-based Gabriel Chmura, whose term ended in July, 1990 There were also concerns that the financially embattled institution (which this year has an operating deficit estimated at $370,000) would reduce the orchestra's size and scope. Later, in October, 1989, orchestra members went on strike for seven weeks, calling for a better wage package and more artistic control. And last year, NAC administrators announced their plan to bring the touring production of *The Phantom of the Opera* to the orchestra's home, the Opera hall, for 10 weeks next spring That dismayed orchestra members, who argued that the production would cut into the orchestra's regular season.

But Pinnock's appointment marks a clear improvement in the orchestra's fortunes Said Betty Webster executive director of the 115-member Association of Canadian Orchestras "Morale has been very low there, but now the tide may turn.' And Trudi Lecaine, a former chairman of the NAC Orchestra Association, an Ottawa-based support group, told *Maclean's*: "This is a good omen, a statement of commitment by the administration."

Indeed, with Pinnock orchestra members have gained the kind of front-rank conductor who, they warned their board in 1990, might be repelled by deteriorating conditions Pinnock, who agreed to take the post in March after four months of negotiations had been a guest conductor at the NAC several times Said clarinettist Peter Smith a founding member of the orchestra "There is total and absolute unanimity about him here they're happy with who he is and what he is. He has great insight into music—he sees things others don't."

An accomplished harpsichordist Pinnock is founder and leader of the London-based English Concert, a baroque group that uses authentic instruments and has made more than 60 recordings on the Deutsche Grammophon label As well, he has made regular guest-conducting appearances with orchestras around the world In fact, Pinnock will spend only six weeks in the coming year with the Ottawa orchestra because of prior commitments He and his wife violinist Pauline Nobes, will continue to make their base in London However, he says that he will be spending much of his time away from Ottawa planning for coming NAC seasons.

Pinnock claims that he and the orchestra are complementary. Added Pinnock: "People here may not realize the richness they have in this orchestra." For their part, orchestra members note that Pinnock demands their best performances Clarinettist Smith said that Pinnock "can be a very stern taskmaster. With him you don't get away with anything."

Yet Pinnock says that making great music is much more than a technical exercise. In preparation for the presentation of Beethoven's *Pastorale Symphony No 6* for two concerts last week, he spent part of a day in Quebec's Gatineau hills absorbing the fall colors "It feeds you," he said "It will do far more for you than spending three or four hours shut up in any room." Inspired by the Canadian landscape, Trevor Pinnock is now intent on inspiring the NAC Orchestra to greatness

GLEN ALLEN *in Ottawa*



Pinnock: 'People here may not realize the richness they have in this orchestra'

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

1 **Murther & Walking Spirits,** *Davies (2)*
2 **Wilderness Tips,** *Atwood (1)*
3 **Night Over Water,** *Follett*
4 **Saint Maybe,** *Tyler (4)*
5 **The Sum of All Fears,** *Clancy (6)*
6 **Comeback,** *Francis (3)*
7 **Russka,** *Rutherfurd (8)*
8 **The Deceiver,** *Forsyth (7)*
9 **The Kitchen God's Wife,** *Tan (9)*
10 **Imajica,** *Barker (10)*

NONFICTION

1 **Me Stories of My Life,** *Hepburn (1)*
2 **Final Exit,** *Humphry (2)*
3 **The Quick and the Dead,** *McQuaig*
4 **The Popcorn Report,** *Popcorn*
5 **Toujours Provence,** *Mayle (4)*
6 **Iron John,** *Bly (6)*
7 **Uh-Oh,** *Fulghum (8)*
8 **Chutzpah,** *Dershowitz (5)*
9 **Waiting for the Weekend,** *Rybczynski (3)*
10 **The Rituals of Dinner** *Visser (7)*

() Position last week

Compiled by Brian Bethune

My Maria died.

A TRUE STORY

When I arrived in the Philippines so many years ago, one of the first things I did was to fall in love She had fine black hair and she used to wear a bright orange dress She had big, big eyes that would always listen to me, and when she smiled, oh how she would smile! She lived in one of those tropical huts on the shore, the ones you see in postcards, and when she would see me coming, she would run to me as fast as her legs could carry her My Maria was only two years old.

One day, I was caught in one of those sudden tropical cloudbursts and I ended up with a bad cold. Being one of only two foreigners on the whole island, I was fussed into the provincial hospital with nurses to watch over me by day, and "watchers" for while the nurses were off duty, and all the care and thoughtfulness that only the Filipinos can lavish on you. After a week in the hospital, my cold went away (if I had stayed home, it would have taken seven days), and I went down to find my lovely Maria.

But my Maria had died.

She too had been caught in the same downpour She too caught a cold But when she was lying on her mat in the corner, the wind blew through the bamboo walls and the bamboo floor of the postcard tropical hut, and she caught bronchitis or pneumonia or something terrible, and there was no money for medicines or the doctor and she wasn't strong enough to fight it. So while I rested in my hospital bed, my Maria was buried in her tropical island.

That was fifteen years ago.

Today, I met another two year old who stole my heart, Marissa I met her in the malnutrition ward of the provincial hospital where she and her mother had been brought. You see, Foster Parents Plan weighs all the little children in our partner families to make sure they're growing properly, and Marissa was not. She was slowly starving because her father couldn't earn enough as a market porter to support his wife and children. Marissa developed a fever, and Gene the community worker had her admitted into the hospital at once (Luck that Gene found her in time, before she died? Not really, Foster Parents Plan keeps a tab on over 15,000 little children every month of every year!).



Marissa

IMAGINE

I went to see her and to see how PLAN was helping The dextrose was fine, but just the beginning Marissa's mother had been to the Mother's Nutrition Class we ran last month We couldn't find work for Marissa's father, but we are teaching him how to raise goats so that Marissa and her brothers and sisters can get a glass each of fresh, clean, body-building, life-saving milk every day, and so that her father can earn a little more money with his new skill And there's the toilet Foster Parents Plan's helping them put in next month, and the fresh water project in their village by the end of the year, and a few other things as well.

So, when I came home tonight, I couldn't help thinking about Maria and Marissa The differences between them aren't all that big. It's just that PLAN has been able to catch one more little girl before she slipped through our fingers and was wasted forever And, of course, we couldn't be over here if people like you weren't over there.

So, if anyone ever tells you that helping through PLAN doesn't matter too much, you can do something for me. Just tell them that what you are about to do is making all the difference in the world. All the difference between Maria and Marissa. Help us prove that point today – become a Foster Parent You just might fall in love with your own Marissa.

Chris Papworth

Chris Papworth Foster Parents Plan

CALL TOLL-FREE ANYTIME 1-(800)-268-7174

PLAN **FOSTER PARENTS PLAN OF CANADA**
(An international human development agency)
153 ST. CLAIR AVENUE WEST TORONTO CANADA M4V 1P8

I want to be a Foster Parent of a boy ☐ girl ☐ age ____ country ____
or where the need is greatest ☐ Please correspond in English ☐ French ☐
I enclose my first payment of $27 monthly ☐ $81 quarterly ☐ $162 semi-ann ☐
$324 annually ☐ I can't be a Foster Parent now, but enclose contribution of $ ____
Please send me more information ☐ your free-loan video ☐ VHS ☐ Beta ☐
Mr ☐ Mrs ☐ Ms. ☐ ____
Address ____
City ____ Prov ____ Code ____
Phone Home () ____ Bus () ____

PLAN operates in Bolivia Burkina Faso Colombia Dominican Republic Ecuador Egypt El Salvador Guatemala Guinea Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Kenya Mali Nepal the Philippines Senegal Sierra Leone Sri Lanka the Sudan Thailand Togo and Zimbabwe PLAN's office ally registered as a Canadian Charitable Organization by the federal government All donations eligible for tax credits

6/24/91 MA#04 100791

COLUMN



Manhattan: between life and death

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The best possible time to be in New York City is early autumn, when the leaves are still there, the sky is blue, the air is crisp and hopefully Donald Trump does not make the papers that day. The energy of the city that never sleeps still crackles, but there is a barely perceptible space of calm between the summer heat and the chill winds of winter.

Your diligent researcher is spending a casual Saturday wandering about with friends. We check out the suits at Barney's, where the price of a nice piece of threads would cover the annual deficit of Prince Edward Island, easily. We have a slow lunch and stroll through a sunlit Central Park, the lungs of the city, where the latest menace is the rocketing bodies on rollerblades, the newest threat to life and limb.

It is the perfect do-nothing day, the brain too lazy for museums, and the talk turns to the latest little crime caper, a 15-year-old girl who was stabbed to death on the subway the previous day. "Well," says my friend, "you can see why I carry it"—patting the bulge in his leather jacket.

What? Yes, it's his revolver, never goes out without it, you never can tell. Your diligent researcher gazes into his sarsaparilla and ponders life. Maribel Feliciano was on her way home from school Friday afternoon on the C train when, at 3:35, a group of girls approached her demanding her gold earrings.

She resisted and was stabbed in the back. The three suspects apprehended were girls aged 16, 14 and 14. The train at the time was approaching Greenwich Village, one of the busiest stations in the city.

After five months of trial, the prosecution has finally rested its case on racketeering charges that the Mafia rigged bids on millions of dollars of window-installation contracts. The main prosecution witness, one Peter Chiodo, is a monster of a man weighing more than 400 lb. who testifies from a wheelchair still recuperating from 12 bullet wounds inflicted four months ago in an attempt to kill him. The defence lawyers presented their evidence in just one day. One of the nine defendants is Peter Gotti, brother of John Gotti who is named in another case as boss of the Gambino crime family.



JOE PETERSON

Early Saturday morning, a Bronklyn police officer who had just ended his shift was shot twice by a 16-year-old boy who had just yelled, "I'm going to smoke this guy!" A police captain said he did not think the suspect had any previous contact with the cop, and that he shot him only because he was a policeman. "He was trying to prove his manhood."

It is the last day of summer on a brilliantly sunny Sunday and it is billed as "An afternoon in the park with Billy Graham." It is the first time the 72-year-old evangelist has ventured into Manhattan since the crusade 21 years ago when he compared the city to Sodom and Gomorrah. Some 250,000 believers—or curiosity-seekers/sunbathers—show up, about what Barbra Streisand drew in 1967, but not equal to Elton John's 300,000 in 1980, Simon and Garfunkel's 400,000 in 1981 or Paul Simon, solo, drawing 750,000 in August.

Oblivious to Billy's incipient influence, on Friday night, the manager of a Manhattan club that is the hangout of the Mafia's Gambino family was arrested after four off-duty policemen were beaten. When a child of one of the officers complained that a concession game was acting strangely, assailants using hammers attacked the officers from behind. Tape recordings made in the club are to be used in the prosecution of the aforementioned John Gotti, who has been charged with racketeering and is being held at the beautifully named Metropolitan Correctional Center.

There is further panic on Wall Street, the real centre of crime, after its most powerful firm, Salomon Brothers, has been caught cheating on the rules governing the monthly auctions at which the U.S. treasury sells billions of dollars in securities to finance the nation's huge debt. The suspicion is that Salomon was not alone.

A 20-year-old security guard, recently hired to patrol a Long Island suburb, but not authorized to carry a weapon, at 2:30 a.m. fires more than 10 times at a 1982 yellow Cadillac parked in front of a high school, killing two young men and critically injuring three others.

Police are still investigating last week's birthday party in a Queens cabaret that ended in a shootout, after a dispute, and left four people dead and six others wounded in the gun battle.

Just as we are leaving for a Broadway show Saturday night, two youths in the Bronx carrying automatic weapons enter the small grocery store run by Luisa Caban. She came to the United States from Ecuador 17 years ago. For 16 years, she ran her grocery like a small-town general store, extending credit to those who needed it. When the youths demanded that she open the cash register and she did not obey swiftly enough, she was killed with bullets through her chest. An employee is pistol-whipped, but when he fails to open the cash register the youths flee empty-handed. The suspects are still at large.

At the theatre, at the closing curtain, I kid my friend about his daytime revolver. He indicates that I pat his rear pocket—the pat revealing a small pistol, just like the tiny one Nancy Reagan used to keep under her pillow in the White House.

The show we've been watching is the hot ticket on Broadway, the musical on the American folk hero Will Rogers. The hit song around which the show is built is based on Will Rogers' most famous quote: "I've never met a man I didn't like."

This smooth, this rich.

This Light.





Announcing V.O. Light™
Now you can enjoy the rich full flavour you'd expect from Seagram, but with 30% fewer calories than regular rye and less than 1/2 the calories of light beer* or wine.**

V.O. Light contains 27% alc./vol. Energy: 48 Cal (201kJ) per 30 mL serving. V.O. Light, Seagram's V.O. and V.O. are trademarks of Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, Limited.
*Based on a 355 mL serving at 4% alc./vol. - Approx. 110 Cal. **Based on a 150 mL serving at 11% alc./vol. - Approx. 120 Cal.

FINALLY, A BIG BUSINESS PHONE SYSTEM TAILOR MADE FOR ALL THE COMPANIES THAT FIT IN HERE

Meet the new Meridian 1,* Option 11, Northern Telecom's communications system for businesses that fall somewhere between the corner store and the 75th floor. Designed for companies that require 30-150 lines, the Option 11 delivers applications such as ACD, voice mail and ISDN. It has everything you need to improve your efficiency and give your customers better service. And, as more lines and features are added, the new Meridian 1, Option 11 has the power to keep pace with the latest technology so that your investment is protected down the road.



So if you're in the middle, you owe it to yourself to meet the new kid on the block... Northern Telecom's Meridian 1, Option 11. For more information, call 1-800-NORTHERN.

nt northern telecom

TECHNOLOGY THE WORLD CALLS ON

*Trademark of Northern Telecom